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PAKISTAN

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International Affairs

Growing Indo-Israeli Ties Feared

93AS0937A Karachi DAWN in English 27 May 93 p 17

[Article by Dr. Maqbool A. Bhatti: "Growing Indo-Israeli Links"]

[Text] The recent visit of Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres to India, that has been followed closely in Islamabad, should also set alarm bells ringing in a large number of countries, ranging from the Islamic ones to those of Central Asia and the Indian Ocean region that are likely to feel the repercussions of political, technical and strategic cooperation between New Delhi and Tel Aviv.

So far as Pakistan is concerned, it is necessary to take cognizance of certain commonalities between India and Israel that impinge directly on our security and interests:

- i) Both are engaged in suppressing movements for self-determination and human rights for the past 45 years, India in Kashmir, and Israel in Palestine;
- ii) The two of them find it expedient to fan the bogey of Islamic fundamentalism, since the populations they are engaged in suppressing are largely Muslim, and enjoy the backing of the Islamic world;
- iii) They are opposed to the acquisition of modern technology by Muslim countries and have been trying to create a scare about the "Islamic Bomb";
- iv) They have been colluding in moves to have Pakistan dubbed as a terrorist state—moves that may increase political and economic pressure on Islamabad with a view to affecting our peaceful nuclear programme.

Though full diplomatic relations between India and Israel were established only in 1992, India had recognised Israel as early as 1950, when Israel opened its consulate in Bombay. While maintaining a low profile in order not to arouse Arab resentment, India proceeded to develop cooperation with Israel in some crucial sectors. An agreement was signed for nuclear cooperation in 1962. In 1963, Israeli General Shateel visited India and signed a secret agreement whereby Israel would supply arms to India and the two countries would exchange training facilities. Reports of this arrangement reached the Middle East and caused a sensation in Arab circles. The visit of some senior Indian naval officers of Jewish descent to Israel around this time also became known and aroused criticism in the Arab Press. The Indian Embassy in Cairo denied reports of collaboration, and attributed the visit of Admiral Samson to medical treatment.

The military collaboration between India and Israel was documented not only in Arab newspapers, but also found mention in the Western Press. The supply of

Israeli military equipment to India during the 1962 Sino-Indian conflict was reported by the correspondent of LE MONDE, Paris.

The Israeli victory in the June 1967 war with the Arabs, which caused gloom and despondency in Muslim world, was hailed in India, with Indian Defence Minister Swaran Singh telling the Lok Sabha "India is deeply impressed by the achievements of the Israeli armed forces and particularly their tactics of speedy mobilisation at extremely short notice." He also expressed interest in learning from the "positive results" obtained. After the French Government imposed an embargo on the supply of arms to Israel following the 1967 war, India supplied spare parts for aircraft and tanks of French manufacture, as a result of the visit of General Ariel Sharon who was the Israeli commander in Sinai. India also negotiated secretly to purchase Soviet-made guided missiles and other equipment captured by Israel together with some arms of Israeli manufacture.

Indo-Israeli military collaboration continued after 1967, assuming greater significance during 1971, when Israel extended assistance to India in its support to secessionist elements. There were also reports of a secret meeting between Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban somewhere in Europe during which Israel agreed to supply arms and ammunition as well as training expertise.

With both India and Israel determined to develop nuclear capability from the time of their independence, collaboration developed and assumed significant proportions during the 1960's, Israel developed advanced know-how with French assistance, but lacked nuclear raw materials. India, on the other hand, possessed large thorium reserves and this led to close cooperation between the two countries in the nuclear field. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute yearbook for 1972, the atomic reactor at Kalpakam, near Madras, was installed with the help of Israel. Earlier, according to the same source, Israel had rendered assistance to India in establishing the Tarapur atomic power station. The Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat, Mr Hasan al Tohami, told the Islamic Foreign Ministers at Kuala Lumpur in 1974 about the close contacts that existed between Indian and Israeli atomic scientists.

During the period of the cold war, given India's close relations with the Soviet Union on the one hand, and New Delhi's anxiety to maintain India's profitable interaction with the Arab countries on the other, special efforts were made to conceal or play down India's collaboration with Israel. Now that the cold war is over, and India is engaged in endeavours to move closer to the US which has a special relationship with Israel, New Delhi no longer feels any constraints in expanding its cooperation with Israel, particularly after the establishment of full diplomatic relations last year.

The past year has seen official contacts between India and Israel gather momentum. The Indian Foreign Secretary, Mr Dixit, visited Israel and the recent visit of Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres constitutes the highest level of consultations. Though Mr Peres struck a note of caution in developing technical and strategic cooperation till sufficient progress has been made in bilateral relations, this posture was obviously assumed to enable India to maintain its interests in the Arab countries. From the content of remarks to the Press, and other indications, Israel extended support and backing to India over a number of issues:

- i) Unequivocal support was extended to India's territorial integrity, in the context of the insurgency in Kashmir. No secret has ever been made that India wants to learn from Israel's record of ruthless repression of the Palestinians, whose "intifada" has been in progress for over five years.
- ii) Scientific and technical exchanges would be developed. This opens up an indirect avenue of access to advanced US technology, as well as to Israel's own considerable expertise for India.
- iii) Mr Peres made a particular reference to possible collaboration between Israel and India in combating Islamic "fundamentalist" trends in Central Asia.

Coming to specific and immediate implications for Pakistan, there is likely to be an intensification of the brutal repression by India in Kashmir, where the decision to deploy two additional divisions was announced recently. It is quite likely that "experts" in repression from Israel would have suggested the adoption of even more stringent measures to weaken the resolve of the people of Kashmir who launched a crusade for their rights in 1989, as a part of the worldwide democracy movement in that year.

One may recall that the threat of a pre-emptive strike by Israel against Pakistan's sensitive installations has existed since the 1980s. Now the growing cooperation between New Delhi and Tel Aviv would certainly increase that threat. This means that the security precautions for the safety of these installations would have to be intensified.

The two countries, which have influential lobbies working in the US, can also be expected to collaborate in further playing up the threat to Western interests from "Islamic fundamentalists," and also to orchestrate campaigns to have Pakistan declared as a "terrorist" state. They may also create obstacles for Pakistan in importing high-technology items from the advanced countries.

For the countries of the Indian Ocean region, stretching from Australia, across East and South Asia to the Middle East and East Africa, collusion between India and Israel would certainly militate against the proposal to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. These two are predatory powers who wish to establish their hegemony in their

respective areas. They may also become allies or surrogates of the US in controlling the vital sea-lanes across the Indian Ocean.

The Muslim world, and the Central Asian republics in particular, have to watch out for the strategy these two powers may adopt, both to combat the alleged threat from "Islamic fundamentalism," and to prevent Islamic countries from acquiring advanced technology. They may join hands with elements within the Muslim countries that are opposed to the growth of Islamic awareness and cooperation. They may work together to penetrate the markets in Central Asia by offering investments and joint ventures in competition with ECO [Economic Cooperation Organization], and in collaboration with the Western industrialised nations.

Mr Peres visited China after India. That part of his travels not only has less sinister implications but may have exposed him to arguments favouring a more balanced approach to this region.

Indo-Israeli Conspiracy Against Nation Seen

93AS0936E Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES
in English 11 Jun 93 p 6

[Article by Inayatullah: "India's Israel Card and Pakistan"]

[Excerpts] The hush-hush Indo-Israeli relations have finally come out in the open. Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres' visit to India is a proclamation of the two powers to work together in pursuit of common goals.

India has made intelligent moves, after the end of the cold war, to re-design its foreign relations and strategic linkages. Its size and strength plus its large middle class market and, of course, its "secular" and democratic credentials have all along lured the Western capitalist world. Little time was, therefore, lost in USA and India getting closer after the collapse of the Soviet Union. High-tech equipment and advanced dual-purpose technology have since been generously provided by the Americans. There have been frequent joint military exercises. To please India the US gave up its earlier adherence to the implementation of UN Resolution on Kashmir and instead of condemning and penalising India, singled out Pakistan for being possibly branded a terrorist state. Not that USA is unaware of the Indian security forces running amok in Kashmir and unleashing a reign of terror there, killing defenseless civilians, forcibly taking away youth, torturing and maiming them, gang-raping women, burning houses and imposing non-stop curfews and not allowing the International Red Cross and human rights organisations including the Amnesty International to visit the Held Valley. It has been on the other hand focusing more on the so-called "militants" (the freedom fighters) and condemning Pakistan for helping them.

The visit of the Israeli Foreign Minister to India should start ringing alarm bells in Pakistan. There are three

aspects of this collaboration. One both India and Israel have a common aversion to the Muslim communities. Israel's brutal entry into the heart of the Arab world, backed by the Western world, is a standing threat to Arab unity and solidarity. By winning Egypt over, Israel has successfully broken its neighbours into a number of camps. The Camp David Agreement has endured with more of such accords in the offing. India, larger and more powerful than its neighbours, has been adding to its territory and influence right from 1947. It has forcibly or diplomatically acquired Junagarh, Hyderabad Goa and Sikkim, Bhutan may be its next victim. It invaded former East Pakistan in the name of dealing with the question of Hindu refugees and mid-wifed Bangladesh into existence. The cooperation of these two militarily strong powers does not augur well for the Islamic states. Israel is reported to be assisting India in crushing the freedom movement in Kashmir and there have been reports of Israeli experts training Indian security forces and of serious suggestions a demographic switch in the Valley. One can only imagine the ruthlessness of such Satanic designs being hatched by two of the most unprincipled states in the world. According to a report carried by the London OBSERVER, there have of late been frequent exchanges of security personnel between New Delhi and Tel Aviv.

The second sinister dimension of the new combine of the two anti-Islamic states is their resolve to counter and neutralise the influence of Pakistan, Iran and other Muslim countries in Central Asian Republics. Peres and his counterpart in India together openly expressed their deep concern about the "spread of Islamic fundamentalism" in these states. The purpose is to develop a united strategy to curb the rise of Islamic movements in the Muslim Republics and also to involve them in economic projects and programmes by providing them financial and technical assistance. Israel has a sizable community of Jews in some of the Republics and is already active there. It is significant that Peres' visit to New Delhi has been followed by Narasimha Rao's official tour of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. Thus, while Pakistan has been handicapped by the unfortunate happenings in Kabul, in pursuit of its programmes already mapped out in cooperation with some of the Central Asian states, India, backed by Israel as also by USA, is beginning to make headway there—most definitely at the expense of Pakistan and other Muslim countries.

The third aspect of the Hindu-Israeli friendship concerns Pakistan directly. Both are keen to cut Pakistan to size. Fairly authentic reports current in the late 80s indicated a joint strike by them at the Pakistan nuclear installations. The bogey of an "Islamic Bomb" has been assiduously cultivated by the Western media. Pakistan, already under pressure from USA regarding its nuclear programme, is thus coming under an increasing threat from Israel and India. [passage omitted]

Our enemies are busy planning anti-Pakistan moves. A befitting reply to their machinations lies in ensuring that there shall henceforth be consensus on all major issues of national concern.

'Urgent Need' for Weapons of Mass Destruction Seen

93AS0937B Karachi DAWN in English 25 May 93 p 17

[Article by Ghani Eirabie: "Is a Fair U.S. Deal Likely?"]

[Text] Prospects of a solution to the stalemate between Pakistan and the US on nuclear proliferation may have brightened somewhat with discussions in Islamabad last week on the Clinton Administration's latest proposals. The fresh Washington thinking is anchored on three basic postulates: One, morality of evenhandedness; two, recognition of national security concerns; and three, preference for a regional approach.

Although with the collapse of the Soviet Union as a rival superpower the United States' interest in South Asia has vastly diminished, Washington has come to the conclusion that the spiralling tension between India and Pakistan could trigger a fourth Indo-Pakistan war with all the potential of developing into a nuclear holocaust. Therefore, invoking the initiatives of "preventive diplomacy," the US as the sole surviving superpower has offered its good offices to help find a solution to Kashmir and other causes of conflict; and since no mediatory effort can succeed unless the disputants have faith in the mediator's "catalyst's" impartiality, Washington has decided to pursue and be seen as pursuing a policy of evenhandedness.

To the same end, Washington has signalled its sympathetic understanding of why Pakistan refuses to surrender unilaterally its nuclear option. In a report this month to US Congress President Clinton said: "Pakistan's desire to possess weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) was driven primarily by specific security concerns vis-a-vis India"; but it seeks, he added, "equality of status and rights with India, although it has no aspiration to global equality of status with the nuclear weapons states. Many Pakistanis argue that Pakistan needs a nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles capability as a deterrent against a more powerful India which they believe has never fully accepted Pakistan's existence as an independent nation state." The White House noted that in Pakistan, there is a widespread belief that no government could survive for long "if it were to dismantle unilaterally its nuclear programme."

In an equally sympathetic—and perhaps more accommodating—assessment of India's nuclear stance, the US President takes note of India's security concerns vis-a-vis China, its refusal to accept inequality with global nuclear powers and domestic pressure by "85 per cent of the people who believe in keeping the nuclear option open."

This sudden superpower concession to domestic public opinion on nuclear proliferation is not entirely above

suspicion. Apparently it is designed to permit America's three regional surrogates—Israel, India and South Africa—to retain their nuclear stockpiles and win acceptance as nuclear weapons states at the time of revision of Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1995. The three regional powers have developed such formidable nuclear arsenals that their existence could no longer be concealed or denied—far less rolled back; and the formula evolved to accommodate the new ground realities is to alter the American nuclear policy from “nuclear non-proliferation to nuclear restraint,” first advocated publicly by the Carnegie Endowment's Feb. 15, 1993 Report by Selig Harrison and Geoffrey Kemp. Both the (Carnegie) proposal and the Clinton plan seek to freeze the nuclear capability of India and Pakistan at the existing levels of sharp inequality.

The State Department official John Malott in his April 28 testimony to Congress said: “We believe that India and Pakistan could assemble a number of nuclear weapons in a relatively short time-frame; both have combat aircraft that could be modified to deliver them in a crisis; both India and Pakistan are developing or seeking to acquire ballistic missiles capable of striking major population centres in the other country potentially with nuclear or chemical weapons.”

Malott summed up the Clinton Administration's revised policy as under; “to address the problem of proliferation, we are pursuing a comprehensive, incremental and long-term approach that seeks (1) to cap, then reduce over time and finally eliminate from the region weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery; (2) to deal with the underlying security concerns that drive the weapons programme in each country and to help create a climate in which each country's sense of security is enhanced through tension-reducing confidence-building measures and a process of arms control; and (3) to encourage direct high-level Indo-Pakistani discussions on regional security and non-proliferation; to supplement that with our own bilateral discussions with both countries and to encourage other countries to do likewise and to work toward broader regional discussions.” He noted in this context that while Pakistan, China, Russia and the United States have accepted the proposal for a five-power conference, India has not, because of its opinion that it leaves the question of Chinese strategic forces unaddressed.

President Clinton in his report to Congress on “Progress Toward Regional Proliferation in South Asia,” rejecting India's accent on a global approach, says: “We believe that proliferation in South Asia is primarily a regional problem and in the end, will require a direct high level dialogue between India and Pakistan and a regional solution.

President Clinton's May 5 (1993) report to Congress also notes with satisfaction that: One, “Pakistan has made a number of regional nonproliferation-related proposals, and has stated a willingness to accept any non-proliferation measure agreeable to India,” including

“willingness to sign NPT simultaneously with India”; two, Pakistan sponsors every year “the UN resolution in support of establishing a South Asian Nuclear Weapons Free Zone,” which is adopted by near-unanimous support though opposed by India as discriminatory; and three, “we note that Pakistan has already agreed to participate in a multilateral discussion on regional security and non-proliferation, also has signed the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) and also states that it will not transfer nuclear technology to other countries.”

Pakistan has equal cause to note with approval: first, Washington's recognition of the fact that “Indians see India's nuclear and ballistic missiles capabilities as conferring on India global power,” as also of Pakistan's belief that they require nuclear capability to counter what they see as India's regional ambitions and conventional military advantage.” And second American cognizance of the Pakistan view that “US and multilateral controls and sanctions focus exclusively on import-export behaviour and leave unaddressed indigenous ballistic missile development programmes such as India's Prithvi and Agni missiles.”

Still more gratifying is the Clinton Report's admission that “Pakistan intensely resents what it sees as a discriminatory US non-proliferation policy against it as represented by the Pressler Amendment and says the U.S. and others failed to take similar action against India after India's 1974 nuclear explosion.” It adds: “Some Pakistanis believe that suspension of US military assistance under the Amendment has increased the importance of WMD (weapons of mass destruction) as a deterrent against India. Some Pakistanis also argue that the Amendment has reduced the incentive for India to engage seriously with Pakistan on non-proliferation issues. According to this argument, India sees no reason to solve its nuclear dispute, as that would allow a weakened Pakistan to resume access to US assistance, militarily and otherwise.”

Islamabad could not have wished for a saner policy enunciation by the White House, but the question is whether the Clinton Administration is strong enough to push it through a Congress which is less driven by moral compulsions and more swayed by prejudices induced by hostile lobbies. Even President Bush deplored in 1989 the fact that the Pressler Amendment was “country-specific,” that is, it sought to discriminate against Pakistan and punish it by name; (which is unique in annals of law) but he ended up enforcing it ruthlessly under pressure of the Indo-Israeli lobby in Congress. The question is: Will the lobby, though weakened somewhat by the exit of Pakistan-baiters like Senator Cranston and Congressman Stephen Solarz but since strengthened by the development of a direct nexus between India and Israel, permit the introduction of even-handedness?

The concept of even-handedness has been tried only in US Congress in 1987 when Senator Inouye and Senator Kasten pushed a draft resolution through the Senate Foreign Appropriations Subcommittee prescribing exact

equality of status between India and Pakistan. It laid down that both believe to be in possession of fissionable material (processed uranium in one case and enriched in the other) were deemed to be in violation of the US anti-proliferation legislation. But both would be given exemption and even-handedly punished and rewarded for compliance with or breach of law. Recognising that any suspension of economic assistance and foreign military sales (FMS) credits to Pakistan, bearing the brunt of confrontation with the Soviets in Afghanistan, would hit Pakistan immeasurably harder, the Inouye-Kaston resolution brought within its purview all types of American assistance including IMF support funds and World Bank credits and loans which affected India far more than Afghan-related economic and military assistance given to Pakistan. It frightened the Indo-Israeli lobby in a hasty retreat, forcing it to drop its threat to withhold assistance to Pakistan under the Pressler Amendment. Congressional leadership has abhorred even-handedness ever since.

Any even-handedness would postulate that either both India and Pakistan be called upon to roll back their nuclear capability, destroying the "nuclear cores," or both be allowed to hold on to what they already have by way of "cores" and fissionable material. Woodrow Wilson scholar Mitchell Reiss told House Foreign Affairs panel in Washington on April 28: "India is thought to have the ability to construct a nuclear arsenal of between 20-50 nuclear weapons, while Pakistan's capability is believed to be between 2-10." Now that even CIA has officially confirmed in its testimony to Senate on Feb 24, 1993 India's accumulation of a nuclear stockpile (and its involvement in construction of a hydrogen bomb) as well as its possession of missiles (Prithvi and Agni) capable of carrying the nuclear device, there is no earthly reason why India should continue to be exempted from the US antiproliferation legislation including the Pressler Amendment.

It is ironic that the US official John Malott who is supposed to have brought to Islamabad, in mid-May, President Clinton's new nuclear policy of even-handedness, continued to voice the old Congressional bias describing Pressler Amendment as a "favour to Pakistan" and told Pakistani editors arrogantly: "If you want to undo the Pressler Amendment you will have to walk back and go behind the line you crossed in 1990."—forgetting the new Clinton policy is "to cap and then reduce over time..." The new Clinton policy of even-handedness demands that Malott go and tell the Indians the same in Delhi—"dismantle forthwith your 50 odd bombs." But did he?

US officials' failure to repudiate the Pressler Amendment is undermining USA's own non-proliferation goals. Mitchell Reiss has warned Congress that "so long as the Pressler Amendment remains in force in its present form, Delhi has little incentive to negotiate constructively with Pakistan on nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia." To the same measure, say other experts, Pressler Amendment has enhanced in Pakistan's eyes,

the urgent need of developing its own weapons of mass destruction as a deterrent to India.

U.S. Seen Adopting More Balanced Stand in Region
93AS0936A Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES
in English 25 May 93 p 6

[Article by Inayatullah: "U.S.-Pakistan Relations"]

[Text] During last winter we saw a number of American visitors to Pakistan. One of the points repeatedly made by some of them was that USA was no longer interested in Pakistan in terms of the earlier close relations. Prof. Thorton of the John Hopkins University who earlier had worked in the Carter Administration as a security advisor went to the length of stating that if the next day the whole of the sub-continent were to sink in the Indian Ocean, little notice of it would be taken in America.

Reference may also be made to the Carnegie Endowment Report based on the discussions of a prestigious study group and compiled by Selig Harrison and Geoffrey Kemp which sought to highlight the importance of enhancing Indo-US relations. The report referred to the need for recognising the converging geo-political interests and shared democratic and secular values between the two states after the cessation of the Soviet threat. Pointing out "the growth of militant Islamic fundamentalism in areas adjacent to India," it underlined the possibility that "New Delhi and Washington will share common security concerns in the years ahead." These common security concerns obviously include the US interest in containing China. No wonder that the report underplayed Indian internal instability and the serious economic problems it faced. Recognising India emerging as "a major power," it advocated an increasing cooperation with it (including that in the military field) in order to maintain regional stability and in resolving a wide range of global concerns. It made a clear recommendation that henceforth relationship with India should be accorded high priority in American foreign policy. It considered that it would be unrealistic to ask for a roll-back of India's nuclear programme. It, however, suggested a freeze in the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes. It also recommended that the 1959 security agreement with Pakistan should be scrapped.

There have been more developments since the publication of the Carnegie Report and Selig Harrison's visit to Pakistan. These include visits to Washington by eminent Pakistani officials, namely Akram Zaki and Ch. Nisar Ali Khan. The latter's meetings with officers of the State Department (including Warren Christopher) may not have yielded any concrete results but certainly they helped project Pakistan's case a little more clearly and cleared some ground for further clarifications. Happenings like the Bombay bomb blasts and India's attempt to implicate Pakistan and complaints from some of the Arab countries including Egypt about the activities of

some of the Arabs residing in Pakistan (who earlier fought with the Afghans against the Russians) in Cairo and other places also influenced international opinion to some extent about Pakistan's image as a country involved in sponsoring terrorism. India took full advantage of the situation and launched a relentless propaganda campaign against Pakistan.

It is in the context of what has been stated above that recent statement emanating from USA about South Asia need to be examined. The White House earlier this month submitted to the US Congress a report on South Asia under the Foreign Assistance Act. The report addresses the major concerns of USA in relation to India and Pakistan and suggests, besides a number of short-term and confidence-building measures, a "phased approach towards the eventual elimination of weapons of mass destruction." The security and confidence-building measures include demilitarisation of Siachin Glacier. Other desirable objectives listed are: cutting off of production of fissionable material, agreement on not to conduct nuclear explosions and refraining from attacking populated areas. The report thus focuses on regional security and non-proliferation. It recognises Kashmir as a major obstacle and suggests a dialogue between the two neighbours.

The visit of John Malott, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State and currently acting Director of the South Asia Section of the State Department, is a follow-up of the Clinton Report to Congress. Spread over a week of parleys in New Delhi, Lahore and Islamabad, the Malott mission is the first serious effort by the new American Administration to sort out its none-too-happy relations with Pakistan. The impression one gets of the reports in the Press of his meetings with Indian and Pakistani officials is that USA is seriously engaged in making a meaningful progress in determining its future policies for the subcontinent. Mr. Malott may have been cautious to avoid the role of a "mediator" but he had no hesitation in being seen as a "catalyst" or "facilitator." In fact he was keen to be viewed as the harbinger of "a more active American role in promoting regional security." Pakistan needs to note his positive and welcome shift in American approach. The focus is no longer exclusively on Pakistan, it is on the region as such. USA appears to have finally realised that (a) the complex issues involved—especially nuclear and Kashmir—cannot be resolved on a basis other than one which recognises their regional character, and (b) for these issues to be resolved, USA had to play a definite and convincing role.

One may regret Malott's unkind references to the Kashmiri freedom-fighters for their allegedly indulging in terrorist activities against civilians and wonder why he is not realistically informed of the state terrorism in the Valley, but hopefully his extensive meeting with journalists, politicians and government officials in Pakistan must have added to his understanding of the facts on the ground. And one may well expect that he would persuade his government (as hinted by him) to put greater pressure

on the Indian government to desist from its bloody repression in Kashmir. His statements about the question of Pakistan being declared a state that sponsors terrorism are also to some extent less worrying. The recent steps taken by the government in this connection have been duly noted and one should hope that the Damocles sword will be taken off Pakistan's head in the near future.

Malott's visit has opened up prospects for Pakistan to begin to review its thinking and its strategies vis-a-vis India and U.S.A. It is very much in its interest to avail of the American offer to help the two countries in getting together to lay the basis of resolving the highly complex problems which have be-devilled their relations for so long, much to the detriment of the welfare and development of their people. The US, it appears, is willing to be more helpful and less overbearing.

For Pakistan the potential of the promise of this visit is considerable and on no account—because of an over-cautious or dilatory approach—should it be allowed to be lost or lapse. And hopefully our unfortunate internal situation will not be allowed to adversely affect our resolve to attend to our external affairs firmly and on a bipartisan basis.

Malott Statements Said Legitimizing Indian 'Occupation' of Kashmir

93AS0937E Karachi DAWN in English 29 May 93 p 11

[Article by Irtiza Husain: "Kashmir Dispute & 'Terrorist' Factor"]

[Text] Mr John Mallot's Press conference while he was in Islamabad highlighted the expected points of US policy on South Asia, but is still likely to cause a good deal of surprise in Pakistan. Many of these points were naturally, a reiteration of what had been said before by prominent Americans.

In brief, all of them underscored American concern over not only the continuing but rising tension between Pakistan and India, the urgent need for preventing a possible war between them, and the importance of removing the causes of the tension between the two countries through a resolution of the long festering disputes between them.

Details of various American statements are not necessary. But, as will be recalled, last year a visiting US Senator, while deploring the excesses of Indian troops in the occupied territory had suggested more autonomy for Kashmir "within the Indian Constitution" as the final solution of the Kashmir problem. The same suggestion was repeated with some verbal variation, in the reports of the Carnegie Endowment's Selig Harrison Committee ("India and America after the Cold War") and the Stephen Cohen group. Perhaps the thinking of opinion-makers, not necessarily decision-makers, in Pakistan was kept in view.

American official position was conveyed to Pakistanis through the normal channels. Mr Monjo's Press conference on 31st March and address to the Karachi Chamber of Commerce and Industry on 8th May, the US Drug Enforcement Agency's report to the American Congress a day or two later, C.I.A. Director John Woolsey's testimony before the American Senate Judiciary Committee on 22nd April, would be recalled.

In a nutshell, Mr Monjo defined the militants' struggle in Kashmir as "terrorism" and Pakistan's "covert support for these terrorist activities" as state-terrorism and attacks on the Kashmir people by Indian tanks and army as "a violation of human rights not terrorism," implied that the problem of Kashmir would be solved with the cessation of the terrorism, and advised that "every thing goes into the deep freeze when that (declaration as a terrorist state) happens." Mr Woolsey testified: "Pakistan has supported the Kashmiris and Sikh groups which have been waging long-running insurgencies against India's Central Government" (stress added). These statements endorsed rather than looked into the Indian position.

Mr John Mallot's testimony before the US House of Representatives' sub-Committee on Asian and Pacific Affairs on 29th April was a significant departure from the foregoing in that he said: (1) the Kashmir "dispute" was a major source of Indo-Pakistan tension (2) he was neither accepting nor rejecting a plebiscite, and (3) "the only solution to the Kashmir problem was that one must take into account the wishes of the Kashmiri people, both Muslim and non-Muslim, but he wasn't sure how that was to be accomplished." Then came The Presidential Foreign Assistance Report to the Congress a fortnight later. This also dealt with both the nuclear and Kashmir issues. In this report too "the unresolved Kashmir dispute" was mentioned as one of the "major sources of tension between Pakistan and India."

Mr Mallot's statement at the Press conference mentioned at the beginning of this article was the most recent pronouncement of US policy on Kashmir. Some old positions were, naturally, re-stated, for instance on 'terrorism'; "in Afghanistan it was a war against an army but in Kashmir militants were killing innocent civilians with the help of the Pakistan government."

The Press report did not clarify whether (1) the militants' fighting was considered to be taking place almost entirely not with and against the Indian occupation troops but (2) no killings took place in Afghanistan in which outside help was not a factor, and (3) what was the war in Afghanistan all about and what were the militants in Kashmir fighting for? However, the significant part in this conference was the appreciation on Mr Mallot's part of the inadequacy of the Simla Agreement as a means of resolving the Kashmir dispute, which was reflected in his assurance of "a more active U.S. role in easing tension between India and Pakistan" and that "U.S. would act as

a catalyst in bringing the two countries to the negotiating table" (perhaps as it was doing in the case of the Arab-Israeli dispute).

Regrettably, as in the past, Pakistani reaction is not likely to show a realistic perception of a great power's interest in changed circumstances. The cost to Pakistan of US sponsored security pacts, SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] and CENTO [Central European Treaty Organization], would be recalled. The distinction between the resistance to foreign armies' occupation of their land with assistance from outside as Jihad in Afghanistan and terrorism in Kashmir is far too subtle for the average Pakistani. Chou-en Lai had reminded Kissinger not to forget the bridge, but, as usual, it was precisely the bridge which was forgotten after it had served its purpose.

Pakistan, it seemed, had outlived its utility once Soviet troops had withdrawn from Afghanistan. Above all, they have an uncomfortable feeling that all this future about terrorism in Kashmir has less to do with the happenings there than with Israel's concern over nuclear progress in a Muslim country. Pakistan's lack of interest in such weapons is disregarded. The frustration of the weak without the realisation that no one else is to be thanked for this helplessness adds to their agony.

Interest in the early resolution of the Arab-Israeli and Kashmir disputes as an important component of American policy in the emerging global situation after the collapse of the Soviet Union was fully recognised in the article on "Pakistan's Security Concerns" (September 1992).

It is appreciated in Pakistan that American leaders' eyes have remained fixed on those goals. But it is felt that US policy on Kashmir is obstructing rather than facilitating the realisation of that goal. The Simla Agreement seems to be the main obstacle. The purpose of this agreement and the UNCIP [United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan] resolutions is partly the same, but only partly. The UNCIP resolutions addressed themselves exclusively to the Kashmir dispute and spelt out the method, step by step, of how it was to be resolved.

The Simla Agreement was signed when (1) India's military intervention in former East Pakistan had led to Pakistan's dismemberment (Pakistanis sometimes say the whole thing started with U.S. allocation of its aid to West and East Pakistan separately); (2) over 90,000 Pakistani soldiers, civilians, and families had remained interned in India for three years as POWs; (3) Pakistan and India were technically still at war when this could not be permanent state of their relationship; (4) relations with Bangladesh had to be established; and (5) 5,000 square miles of Pakistan territory occupied by India had to be recovered.

On the Kashmir problem itself the known position of both sides was recognised, but that was all that there was to it. Nothing was said about how the dispute was

to be resolved unlike in the UNCIP resolutions. Moreover, under the UN Charter, the Simla Agreement could neither take the place of nor supersede the UNCIP resolutions. There is no ambiguity in the Charter on this point.

Finally, any attempt made by Pakistan to initiate a dialogue on Kashmir after 1973 under the Simla Agreement was met with the response from the Indian side that they had no brief on the subject. A time comes when the patience of even the weak is exhausted. Seeing all avenues closed for a peaceful evacuation, as did ultimately take place in Afghanistan, the younger generation of Kashmiris took to arms against the Indian occupation forces. Pakistan could not withhold political and diplomatic support.

People in Pakistan and Kashmir are reminded of the American war of independence in the armed struggle of the Kashmiris since 1990. France remained "at peace" with Britain throughout that war. But it did not prevent Benjamin Franklin from seeking help from France and France from extending it. France supplied arms, munitions, clothing, etc. French armies and navy took full part in the fighting, "without which the colonists could not have survived. The French fleet turned the scales forever." (Churchill, History of the English Speaking Peoples, Vol III). France and then Spain refused the British Government's request to prohibit the sale of gunpowder to the Americans. Holland also joined and the ever sensible Dutch merchants "shipped it in large bottles labelled 'Spirits.'" The French Foreign Minister signed a treaty in Paris on 6th February, 1778, that "neither nation would lay down arms until Great Britain recognised American independence." "... All this took place while France was still officially neutral." (extracts from Oxford History of the American People by Admiral S.E. Morison).

Pakistan has done none of these things for the Kashmiris fighting for their freedom from Indian colonialism. What really matters, of course, is the power equation in the two cases, otherwise, the aforesaid French intervention and, for that matter, India's own in East Pakistan in 1981, are much more glaring examples of "terrorism" than Pakistan's political and diplomatic support to the Kashmiri freedom fighters. Pakistanis have also found it difficult to grasp how the municipal laws of one country can be made applicable to other sovereign states. Nor some other real terrorist acts like those performed by Zionists before or by Israel after its creation to date or others like the bombing of an Iranian civilian plane killing all of about 300 persons on board, etc.

Insurgency means rebellion and rebellion means rising against a legitimate authority. So would the distinction which has been made between "acts of terrorism" and "human rights abuses." That creates two impressions: first, human rights are being violated by a lawful government, and second, such violations, howsoever heinous in nature, destructive in extent, and agonising in result,

they maybe, ipso facto attract much less reprehension than acts of "terrorism." The former begs the question, because that is the issue.

India is not the legitimate and lawful government in Kashmir. It would have become one if the people of Kashmir had said so in a fair and impartial plebiscite under UN auspices as had been promised to them by all quarters, including India, but not before that.

Until the people of Kashmir express their will in this manner, Indian occupation of the state is an act of fraud and violence, has no legitimacy and its atrocities are greater acts of terrorism than the militants'. The latter have no army and its repressive force to violate human rights to that degree.

By calling the militants struggle for freedom insurgency and Indian troops atrocities as mere violation of human rights, a legitimacy has been conferred on the Indian occupation of the state which it does not, otherwise, possess.

Western Media Seen Fundamentally Biased Against Muslims

93AS0936B Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES
in English 29 May 93 p 6

[Article by Ijaz Ahmed Rao: "Anti-Islam Propaganda by Western Media"]

[Text] The purpose of this article is to inform the readers how the international print and electronic media is formulating public opinion against Islam. Today due to satellite technology, news can be transmitted within minutes throughout the world. The media wields immense power to influence public opinion. There are different ways through which the media effectively develops the public opinion.

One of the most powerful procedures applied is the "agenda setting process," the process in which media focuses public opinion on an "element" either negatively or positively,

- by presenting that "element" which had no public concern before,
- by projecting that "element" through different exposures, or
- by repeating that "element" in different issues. For example in the Bosnian conflict, the emphasis is laid upon the element "Muslims" by international media.

It is accepted that according to psychology, human memory has three different levels, which are:

- Sensory Memory
- Short-term Memory
- Long-term Memory

According to this model incoming information should pass through two temporary storages (sensory and short-term storages) before it can be transferred into long-term

memory. The information stored in the long-term memory may last for weeks, months, or years. To store any information in long-term memory, it is important to keep rehearsing or repeating that information in different issues. In the say way if the international media keep on using the word "Muslims" unnecessarily relating to different negative incidents in the world, gradually it will store in the long-term memory of the people which is going to develop a very Bad perception about Muslims in future.

A careful monitoring of the western media broadcasts or telecasts will reveal that Muslims around the world are regarded as terrorists, drug-peddlers, fundamentalists, etc., and "surprisingly" only the Muslim countries like Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria and Palestine are branded as terrorist states.

If we look around the global conflicts we find that media is ethnically biased against Muslims, as in their conflict with other religious groups, their religious identity alone is projected: for example, when Bosnian Muslims are "ethnically cleansed" by orthodox and Roman Catholic Christian Serbs and Croats, the conflicting parties are treated merely as Bosnian "Muslims" versus Serbs or Croats. A London TIMES headline would illustrate the point "Serbs and Muslims Wage Dirtiest War" (June 5, 1992). This type of news projection by international media reflects strong bias against Muslims as the media is mentioning Bosnians as Muslims while the religion of Serbs is deliberately omitted. My question is: If the Bosnians are "Muslims," who are the Serbs and Croats?

The way the media is broadcasting the news is giving an impression to the public that people from "Muslim" religion are fighting with Serbs or Croats which is unconsciously developing a bad attitude towards Muslims.

Dr. Paula Tidwell (consumer psychologist) says on this issue that "the differentiation between the Serbs, Croats and the Bosnian Muslims is not a valid comparison." She also agrees that the international media must mention all groups either on the basis of their religion or on the basis of their geographical distinctions. She further says that "the repeated exposure of this type of language comparing Muslims to Serbs or Croats is bound to change the attitude of people in the long-term memory and eventually they are going to associate "Muslims" with negative attitudes.

The hypothesis of Dr. P. Tidwell is that the people who are writing these articles are Christians and they do not like to admit any bad controversy or bad reflection on their religion.

She also pointed out that the children of today are not aware of that the Serbs and Croats are Christians, but they know that the Muslims are aggressive people and they will have all types of negative feelings towards Muslims in the long run.

Dr. Paula Tidwell says that "At every other opportunity the Muslims have been singled out unlike other religious groups. This is a very strong ethnic bias, it leaves strong attitude against Muslims."

The media is not only practising ethnic bias in Yugoslavian war but in some other issues too. For example,

"Terror hits Israeli resort" THE CANBERRA TIMES, June 1, 1992.

In this particular article international media mentioned only Israeli army, but guerillas were specifically called Muslims. They did not indicate the religion of Israeli army but they mentioned the religion of guerillas.

"Mosque demolition rocks India" THE SYDNEY MORNING HERRALD [as printed] (December 8, 1992)

In this news item, the media projected both groups according to their religions (Hindus and Muslims), I believe that since these two religions are different from Christianity, the media projected them equally on the basis of religion.

If the international media will continue to project the word "Muslims" in different issues, because of this exposure and repetition either in print media, Television or through broadcasting, it is understood that the word "Muslims" will be negatively stored in the long-term memory of the people, which will cause unfavourable attitude towards Muslims in future. Whenever people will read or listen about "Muslims," they will automatically predict that these people are either fighting, suffering or starving as this is how the international media has projected the "Muslims" from the Middle East, the Gulf or Africa.

Before its obsession with the Muslims, the western media had negatively projected the "communists" of Russia. People from different countries had no idea about the commitment system, but a majority of them knew that the communist system was bad, because that is how the media projected its point of view against communists on different issues. So the people gradually developed a negative attitude towards Communists and Communism.

Dr. Paula Tidwell says that if international media would continue to use this ethnically biased language against "Muslims," it is going to portray Muslims as a violent, aggressive type of people. She further mentioned if there are negative associations made in the minds of the readers, then eventually people will be less open to discovering "what Islam has to offer."

Unfortunately the print and electronic media in all Muslim countries are also reproducing the news in the same way as the Western media, without realising its adverse effects on the Muslims collectively. In order to prevent further damage to Islam and the Muslims the Islamic world should also formulate a joint strategy to counter this negative media trend.

The Different Connotations of Fundamentalism*93AS0983A Karachi JANG in Urdu 10 Jun 93 p 3*

[Article by Omar Asghar Khan: "The Factors Behind the Coining of the Word Islamic Fundamentalism."]

[Text] The use of the term Islamic fundamentalism in international and national politics started a few years ago. What factors gave rise to the coining and continued use of the term? I shall try to examine this question in my short article, because, if we fail to understand this term in its correct perspective, we will not be very successful in choosing the right road to prosperity and progress on the international and national levels.

First of all, we should try to find out when and how the term fundamentalism first came into use. What were the factors which necessitated the coinage of the term and what meanings and objectives lurk behind its use? In my view the twentieth century is a century of change. The movements started by the orthodox and by the enlightened elements and the actions and reactions generated by religious and scientific movements gave rise to many new terms. Dominant nations applied these terms, for their own advantage and in their own way, to needy nations and continue to do so. At present Western media seem to be applying the term fundamentalist exclusively to Muslim societies. These media use the term fundamentalist to signify those who are ignorant, savage, decadent, politically deprived, blood thirsty, misogynists, and terrorists. A school of thought in Pakistan uses the word for those idealists who split hairs, whereas the sufis give a different meaning to the word. I do not regard either of these views as correct because neither interpretation explains the rising trends in progressive Muslim societies and the causes of the emergence of these trends. It is important to fill the gap between imagination and truth in both these interpretations. The fact is that the interpretation first adopted by the Western media has its roots in the political and economic realities of progressive countries. Progressive countries want to dominate backward and developing countries both culturally and economically; they follow the expansionist arguments of their multinational corporations and are thus forced to justify their own mistakes by delineating their opponents as backward and ignorant. The West defines [the term] according to its own best interests and changes the meanings as its own interests change. For example, when applied to Palestine, they construe the word to signify terrorists. During the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviets, Western countries were staunch supporters of the mujahedeen and supplied them with financial and military aid. Now, after the withdrawal of the Soviet forces, these same Afghan groups are being called fundamentalists by the West. Israel, which is needed by the West, and India, which is responsible for the destruction of the Babary mosque, are not called fundamentalists. It is clear that the secret force behind this term initially creates these problems to complete its economic and political goals,

then finds international allies to oppose this same ideology; thus, the foundation is laid for a new internal conflict in weaker societies with the purpose of preventing these societies from achieving unity to solve their real problems. The fact is that those elements in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and other Islamic countries which try to impose their ideology through violent means are seeking to achieve their own objectives and are not motivated by high moral principles or such basic aims as national prosperity, nor do these groups or individuals have any connection with the basic aspirations and ideas of Islam. Nevertheless, it is unjust to accuse the Islamic world alone of fundamentalism when one witnesses the violation of human rights and the destruction of democracy not just in Islamic countries but all over the world at one time or another. The most recent example is taking place in Europe in the form of Serb nationalism. Serbia is mercilessly trying to wipe the Bosnian Muslims off the face of the earth; such cruelty may be unprecedented in human history. Will it be called fundamentalism inspired by nationalism?

Instances in the U. S. of the Blacks being burned alive have been acknowledged to be true because they are regarded as helping to further humanitarian values. One cannot describe the inhumane manner in which the Branch Davidian sect in Waco, Texas, recently mistreated women and children in the name of Christianity though their actions do not have even the remotest connection with the high humanitarian values of Christianity.

These incidents show that the violation of human rights, violence, and undemocratic behaviour are not confined to Muslim societies but occur all over the world. Such inhumane behaviour is posing a challenge for all mankind. This behaviour is caused by those political, social, and economic systems in which the majority of the people are deprived of basic comforts. These unjust systems add to class differences and create unbridled population increases, unemployment, degradation of the environment, and psychological problems, whereas, on the other hand, the systems allow a few people to live a life of luxury and enjoy heaven on earth. I have no hesitation in saying that the cause of such injustice in Muslim societies is to a great extent the inequitable economic system created here [sic] by the privileged and Western oriented classes who dominate the political and economic sectors.

As a reaction to this situation, a number of people have become active in the name of religion, and some of them are adopting violent means to bring about reform.

Also, in some Islamic countries democratic forms of struggle have been blocked, leaving violence as the only means of bringing about political and economic changes. Since the people of these societies are Muslim, they have an emotional attachment to the revolutionary ideology of Islam. One could cite many instances where the objectives were in fact political and economic changes but were overlaid with a religious coloring. In my view

the following factors are required for the success of any movement in a Muslim society: 1. Political influence; 2. Government with the participation of the people; 3. An economic organization which allows science, technology, art and culture to prosper. These three factors existed in the early days of Islam when the religion started to spread in Arab society. The prophet Mohammad kept these 3 principles in view when he laid the foundations of Islamic society. In the present age we should keep these principles in mind as well as the exigencies of modern times and establish political and economic systems based on tolerance and the acceptance of the rights of women and all minorities. In order to protect the state from the interests of religious groups, the natural demands of democracy, humanitarianism, and justice will have to be satisfied.

Egypt Said Putting Intense Pressure on Government

93AS09371 Islamabad PULSE in English 3 Jun 93 p 36

[Text] Despite Pakistan's efforts to create a "Muslim" framework for its foreign relations, it has come in for some severe criticism from its "Islamic" brethren states. This criticism has become extremely strident as the US pressure relating to efforts to declare Pakistan a "terrorist" state has increased. Not surprisingly, the Muslim states in the forefront of this attack on Pakistan are also closely allied with the US.

The latest issue on which Pakistan is coming in for attack from some countries in the Arab world is that of Arab nationals who have been linked to the Afghan war and now seem to have lost their relevance. Suddenly, no one wants to own them, and Pakistan is finding them increasingly difficult to manage.

The obduracy and lack of cooperation from these Arab governments is becoming a source of consternation for Pakistan, especially its Foreign Office. Informed sources at the Pakistan Foreign Office have told the PULSE that the Egyptians have not only been less than cooperative on the issue of their nationals, their Ambassador in Islamabad has deliberately been misinforming his government in Cairo about the situation.

To begin with, while Pakistan has shown a willingness to cooperate with the Egyptians in identifying the Egyptian nationals they may want under their law, the Egyptians have refused to provide the Pakistani authorities with any form of a list of such nationals.

Instead, the Egyptians have demanded that the Pakistani authorities show them all the information that they have on all aliens. As the Foreign Office source added, this sort of information no sovereign state can reveal. Worse, the Egyptians have publicly criticised the Pakistani government when they themselves have been at fault.

The frustration felt by the Pakistan Foreign Office is apparent in their increasingly vocal expression of discontent. Informed sources at the Foreign Office point

to the fact that the Egyptians have consistently attempted to isolate Pakistan from having a presence in the Arab world.

According to these sources, Egypt has always considered Pakistan its rival for influence in the Gulf states and Saudi Arabia—especially in terms of military advisors, troops and manpower. In addition, Egypt has had a long-standing relationship with India and a growing cooperative relationship with Israel—both states which are at the very least antagonistic towards Pakistan.

All in all, it seems as if it is only a matter of time before the cleavages that pervade Pakistan's relationship with Muslim states like Egypt come to the fore. There are those in the Foreign Office who now feel that perhaps it is time this did come to the fore so that people in this country are aware of what the Muslim Ummah's reality is!

Meanwhile, the PULSE has, on the authority of reliable diplomatic sources in Islamabad, been able to learn some highly disturbing details about the personal and professional record of the current Egyptian Ambassador to Pakistan.

Hanafi started his career in the Intelligence wing of the Egyptian military during the time of the late President Jamal Abdul Nasser.

His major job then was to keep the Egyptian President posted, through regular intelligence reports, about the feelings of the people in general and in the Egyptian armed forces in particular, towards the regime.

However, President Nasser learned about his clandestine links with the so-called 'Centre of Power' within the Egyptian military, led by General Abdul Hakim Amir (who later committed suicide following the defeat in the 1967 war).

The 'Centre of Power' was a pressure group which often worked at cross-purposes with Jamal Abdul Nasser, and the President suspected Hanafi of misinforming him on vital security issues.

Later, when President Anwar Sadat took over as Egyptian President, Hanafi was prematurely retired from the army and sent to the Foreign Office in Cairo.

At the Egyptian Foreign Office again, he represented the intelligence outfit while being in charge of the Israel Desk. Hanafi continued to serve in this position till his posting to Pakistan as Ambassador last year.

While at the Egyptian Foreign Office, Hanafi's main job was to popularise Israel's growing relations with Egypt in all areas.

And he has been sent to Pakistan with the specific mission of preparing the ground for Pakistan's granting official recognition to the Zionist entity.

He has been pursuing this ignoble objective in a most surreptitious manner.

Apart from cultivating important individuals in decision-making and opinion-forming forums of Pakistan to make the idea of Israel's recognition acceptable to them, he has been going out of his way to bring up this issue in press interviews even when not asked a question in this regard!

His activities in Pakistan have become a source of grave concern to sections within the government of Pakistan who are highly perturbed about his role in the backdrop of growing cooperation between India and the Zionist entity in their joint hostility for Pakistan.

The recent visit of the Israeli Foreign Minister to New Delhi has left no doubt in this regard.

These sections point out that President Hosni Mubarak had twice in the recent past put off his proposed visit to Pakistan in view of popular resentment here over Egypt's working in close liaison with the enemies of Muslims—primarily Israel, India and the United States.

However, they feel that the presence and unchecked activities of the current Egyptian Ambassador in Islamabad more than compensates for the cancellation of his President's visits here.

Group Formed in U.S. To Fight Possible Terrorism Declaration

93AS0936G Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES
in English 9 Jun 93 p 16

[Article by Iqbal Mirza: "US-Based Pakistanis Move To Counter Threat"]

[Text] Houston, June 8—A vigorous campaign has been launched by the Pakistan Association of Greater Houston (PAGH) and Pakistani-American Congress (PAC) to counter the US threat of declaring Pakistan a terrorist state.

Mian Aziz, a pro-Pakistan activist, who heads the cultural and religious section of PAGH, giving details of the 'save Pakistan campaign' told this correspondent that a 'phone call campaign' and 'letter writing campaign' under the supervision of Mr. Ali Kamal and Dr. Maktoob Alam respectively, have made several hundred phone calls and written letters to President Clinton, Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Chairman, Foreign Relations Committee, Senators and Congressmen urging them to carefully consider all pros and cons before striking a long-term ally out.

These committees have been highlighting the role of Pakistan as US's closest allies in the region for almost half a century.

The State Department has been informed that a populous and indigenous uprising movement in Punjab and Kashmir is being termed as terrorist and Pakistan is

being made scapegoat. They are asking for plebiscite. If India's claims are true that there are a few infiltrators, trained in Pakistan, causing terrorist activities, all it has to do is to open its borders to the neutral observers such as Amnesty International and international Press and hold a plebiscite under international supervision and let the chips fall where ever they may.

It has been forecast in these letters that if Pakistan is labelled a terrorist state, it will result in the replacement of the current moderate forces by more fundamental and radical ones resulting in another Iran, such an act is least desirable for the long-term strategic interest of the US.

It has further been reminded that during the half a century of cold war, Pakistan was a front line country against the Soviet Union that stood for freedom and democracy in the region.

U. S. Said Waging 'Cultural Terrorism'

93AS0960A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu
11 Jun 93 pp 9-12

[Article by Dr. Sabir Hussain Khan: "Cultural Invasion: Media of Communication, America's Weapon To Conquer Nations; After the Second World War, the U. S. Adopted the Policy of Fighting on Ideological Rather Than Geographical Frontiers."]

[Text] Everyone is acquainted with what happened during the Second World War and the events that led up to it; details of Hitler's personality and his principles are also well known. Hitler was a fool who, in an effort to further Nazi Germany's ideology of power and survival, pushed his country and his nation into the flames of war. The unfortunate man made himself infamous and gained nothing. He failed to understand that there were better and more desirable ways of imposing his ideology on other nations and countries. He would have then achieved his aims and received applause for his deeds at the same time; as the saying goes, he could have killed the snake without breaking his stick. After sustaining losses in the Second World War, finally winning the war and wiping Hiroshima and Nagasaki off the map, European countries and especially the U. S. took the lesson to heart that the easiest and best way to win a war was not to fight on geographical frontiers but on ideological fronts and the weapons to use were not weapons of war but the media of communication. They realized that they could this way achieve their objectives and gain permanent control over the boundaries and people of other countries without arousing any opposition or accusation. They would not be dragged into the world court of justice and most important of all, no one would know or feel that they had been conquered by a foreign country and were now its subjects and slaves. Instead of mourning their loss of freedom, these conquered nations would sing the praises of their conqueror.

The tragic truth is that this is the kind of change that our nation as a whole has undergone. The people know that they have been sold to the U. S. in exchange for a few

sacks of wheat, some tanks and planes; nevertheless, not a day passes when we do not praise the United States. It may be hard to find any nation as innocent and meek as ourselves, who have perhaps not even an inkling that the U. S., who has labelled us terrorists, not only has won the war but is celebrating its victory, and we are participating in this celebration with our master and owner. We do not for a moment entertain the thought that the foundation of this celebration has been laid on our religion, nation, morality and conscience which have been buried alive.

How many of us can say that they do not have a brother, son, mother, father, wife, husband, daughter, sister, daughter- or son-in-law, or at least a relative or friend residing in the U. S.? How many families can claim that none of their family members or friends has left the country legally or illegally? Whether it is for education, politics, money, medical treatment, job or a visit, many intelligent individuals use their country's money to head for the U. S. It is both difficult and easy to arrive at the numbers of these individuals; one need just look in the mirror.

Why and how is all this happening? The questions repeatedly raise their heads like snakes, but each time an invisible hand feeds them the milk of self-interest and they go back to sleep. Many questions die without waking again. As Faiz [the poet] said: We were tired and closed our eyes for a few minutes of rest/ It was never our intention to fall asleep before waking up.

It is not Pakistan alone; the whole Islamic world is crying out under the weight of the 8 armed American octopus, but most of them have their ears stuffed so full of black gold that they cannot hear their own screams.

At any rate, we are here discussing Pakistan. Nature did not bless us with oil; therefore, the question of our using it as a weapon does not even arise. We are basically an emotional nation; we become rational only when we are close to drowning and are unable to breathe any longer. We do not have to go far to look for examples. Just take a look inside our houses. Shalimar Television Network's prime time is a mere pretext; in every home, programs of the cable news network, CNN, are watched 24 hours a day. Intellectual luxuries are provided directly from the U. S. to the educated segment of society. The excuse offered for this is that watching CNN allows us to keep in touch with international activities and events but no one seems to realize that, in today's world, the advanced use of communications is the most effective weapon being used by the U.S. and especially the Jews to further their plan of establishing their domination over all countries and in particular the Islamic world. Nothing can change the minds and thoughts of the young, brought up under the influence of the communications media, with such speed, depth, and attraction as these same media. This is undoubtedly an acceptable and civilized form of brainwashing, and, for an emotional nation like the Pakistanis, the process is tantamount to taking poison. Watch CNN for an hour with an open mind and you will realize

how Jewish capitalists confuse the immature minds of the young with their ideological propaganda. No matter how steadfast an individual might be in his convictions and faith, exposure to constant propaganda will undoubtedly produce cracks in his principles. If no effort is made to stop the working of the American machinery and the invasion of Jewish ideas and thoughts, the day will soon come when even our intellectuals and writers will, intentionally or unintentionally, wave the flag of Western culture and thought. The warning bell has begun to sound. Just look at any edition of any newspaper; with the exception of one or two journalists, all of them will be found saluting the U. S. in some section of the newspaper. Turn the channel from STN to PTV; you will see Western and American customs and ideas reflected in all the programs, whether these be plays, music, or news and analyses. Whether it is a music challenge [sic] or music album, informal or formal, and whether the artist is of the streets or family style, except for the 93 different names, you will find them all alike. What a pity that the authorities never used the effective (and lethal) medium of television to present their ideas and teachings in a suitable and credible manner.

This is not the end of the story. This is just the beginning. CNN has been on the air for only 4 years, but the invasion of American culture and traditions started long ago. From FMGEM to American kitchens, from our thoughts and feelings to our stomachs, everything is controlled by the U. S. Everyone must be familiar with the American kitchen; no home is today considered civilized and modern unless it has an American kitchen. Things have now gone so far that as part of a dowry, in addition to a TV and VCR, the necessary items of an American kitchen are also included. Only those will be familiar with FMGEMS whose young family members have passed the final examinations for a medical degree and have become brand new doctors. This viral infection [of FMGEM] has penetrated the veins of every young doctor. Everyone of them wants to pass the foreign medical graduate (FMG) exam and reach the U. S. as fast as possible. What better examples can there be of domination, and of mental and economic slavery? Why is all this taking place? The sole reason is that in Pakistan a medical doctor earns at the most 3000 or 3500 rupees a month whereas in even the least desirable hospital in the U.S., a doctor earns 3000 dollars a month. Western civilization has done nothing for us except sow the seeds of material prosperity, wealth, and position in our society as a result of which every young individual wants to become rich in as short a time as possible so as to be able to buy material goods and facilities for himself and his family. Western civilization has also opened the doors to Europe and America so that the glitter of these countries may entice our young people who feel deprived. On top of all this, the impression has been created that education and experience gained in our country are inferior to foreign diplomas. The result has been that the best elements of our society use every possible legal or illegal means to get a U. S. visa on their passports. In order to complete all these various stages

successfully, a young man will spend an average of 150 to 200 thousand rupees. This hefty sum does not include the money spent during the year or the year and a half when, in order to travel to the U.S., he has to resort to various procedures, from passing examinations to PC (photograph change) [sic]. Add to all this the money, energy and time expended on his education for a medical or engineering degree by his family and the government. Behind all this effort is the thought inculcated by Western traditions that happiness in this short life depends entirely on the acquisition of material prosperity. The foundations of our religion and society, on the other hand, are built on good thoughts, love and contentment none of which emit any enticing glitter, but adopting this philosophy of life confers everlasting benefits, to understand the nature and importance of which a long study is needed. Obviously, this is in contradiction to the aims and ideas of Western education.

Has it ever crossed your mind that the issue of including Pakistan among terrorist countries and America's new world policy are in fact two aspects of the same picture? When the Jewish lobby makes use of CNN or our doctors make common ground of FMGEMS SYND ROME [sic], when the issues of the Kashmiri freedom fighters and the innocent Muslims of Bosnia Herzegovina elicit only silence and Iraq's nuclear capability is destroyed under pretext of Kuwait, whatever the issue or the situation, whether on the individual or the social level, the basic targets of the U. S. and Western civilization are the Muslims. What more civilized form can terrorism take than to assume the disguise of materialism and culture and destroy the foundations of Islam? The greater the seriousness of the issue, the less our reading, writing, and thinking young people are aware of it. Because of their ignorance, they continue to fall victim to American terrorism. Jewish cunning is penetrating our society through the back door while we are busy reciting the rosary of American aid. No one pays attention to the fact that American aid brings with it the gift of AIDS. AIDS stands for the lethal disease of acquired immune deficiency which slowly saps the patient's physical and mental strength until the patient displays symptoms of mental, psychological and physical ailments, becomes bed ridden and slowly dies. The tragedy is that, first, the disease is detected only after Human Immunodeficiency (HIV) virus has entered the body, and, secondly, in spite of the advances of Western education, no cure has been found for the disease.

Could we, as a nation, be in the initial stages of AIDS? Examine your conscience; if it has not yet fallen victim to American terrorism, the red signal of danger will light up. However, if your sensibilities are wearing the shroud of American culture, your eyes will be unable to see the red danger signal.

Yours, mine, and everyone's eyes have become accustomed to watching the films of Sylvester Stallone, Clint Eastwood, Chuck Norris, and Roger Moore. The poison of Western music is coursing through our veins; our hearts are ruled by the green card; American beauty [sic]

rules our senses; our ears wait for the ideas broadcast on the Voice of America; our limbs grow limp at the sound of foreign currency accounts. How can we be saved from American aid (AIDS)?

Terrorism does not consist only in murder and plunder. When bombs explode or new weapons are exhibited, when conspiracies are hatched against those in office or the blood of the people is shed, such acts of terrorism are easily seen and condemned by everyone. But modern intelligence has devised new forms of terrorism which depict the murderer as the victim and the criminal as innocent. These are the methods the U. S. government, dominated by Jewish minds, is employing. This is a clear example of how to kill the snake without breaking the stick. It is American terrorism when our young men leave their green and fertile country to look for means of livelihood in the West while Eve's daughters happily wear trousers and skirts which show their ankles. New fashion magazines appear on book stalls each week; large amounts of foreign exchange are spent on foreign luxury goods; video shops are engaged in the business of pornographic films; snack shops appear on every corner. There was a time when parties were secretly held in houses. Nowadays, singing and dancing go on openly in every house. Library shelves are stocked with immoral and Western literature. Schools have been around a long time, but now A no longer stands for Allah as was formerly taught to school children; now A stands for apple. The system of education in colleges and universities promotes Western thought and wisdom. The seeds of linguistic and provincial dissension are being sowed. [Fried?] chicken pieces rather than books are now desired items. Countless girls fail to marry at a suitable age because young men of equal status who have an American citizenship or education are hard to find. Individual interests rather than the interests of society as a whole are being promoted. Importance is being given to wealth and position rather than to character and values. On the one hand, the country is groaning under the burden of foreign loans, and, on the other hand, personal interests are being placed above patriotism. In short there are few walks of life in which the effects of the terrorism of the American cum Jewish lobby are not evident. The worst of it is that the average person does not regard these phenomena as terrorism, but as the demands of modern times. What greater terrorism is there than to brainwash an entire nation so that not even a single protest is heard? Our country has never before faced such critical times and may never do so again. Intellectuals and writers should now use their pens as instruments of jihad to dispel confusion from the minds of the people and to present a crystal clear concept of life. If they fail to do so, our souls and ideas as well as our bodies will fall into the torturous clutches of the new world order and we will find ourselves unable to turn back. Before time goes by with lightning speed, we should break out of the mental, emotional and physical shackles of slavery and fortify our defenses against American terrorism. We will have to protect our own ideological frontiers; otherwise, like a patient suffering from AIDS, we will find ourselves totally abandoned.

U. S. Called Number One Terrorist Nation
93AS0957D Karachi JANG in Urdu 16 Jun 93 p 3

[Article by Dr. Mansur Noorani: "Which One Is a Terrorist: Pakistan or the United States Itself?"]

[Text] The world is on the threshold of the twenty-first century, but it is still in a state of slavery. At one time the U.S. and the Soviet Union ruled the world; today, the U. S. rules alone. It has become a self-made superpower and has made the rulers of Russia as well as those of other countries its vassals. The U. S. interferes and attacks wherever it pleases, and, under a new world order, wants to keep the whole world under its control. It calls anyone it pleases a terrorist, as though it was the policeman of the world.

U. S. behaviour toward Pakistan has always been opportunistic and hypocritical. Whenever need arose, the U. S. appeared ready to give Pakistan anything it wanted, but, once the need passed, it placed Pakistan on a watch list of terrorists. In regard to Afghanistan and Kashmir, we now appear terrorists in the eyes of the U. S., but at one time, when we helped these same Afghans, we were America's best friend. No one asks the U. S. who gave it the right to call others terrorists. Last month our former prime minister Benazir Bhutto was interviewed on CNN, and she had the opportunity to clear Pakistan's name; instead, for some unknown reason, she took a defensive attitude and requested the U.S. to postpone for two months its decision to designate Pakistan a terrorist country. This was tantamount to an acknowledgment that we were implicated in terrorism. Any other Pakistani, if he had a similar opportunity, would ask the U. S. to describe the terrorist acts we are accused of having committed. Were we not terrorists when we helped the people of Afghanistan for eleven years? The U. S. supplied the weapons and the training was given on the Afghan border. These same Islamic scholars, whose presence in Pakistan is intolerable to the U. S. and Egypt, were once considered friends and helpers. Suddenly, they now appear as psychotic religious fundamentalists and terrorists.

How can we be called terrorists in regard to Kashmir? We have only given moral and diplomatic help to the people of Kashmir. No one called India terrorist when, by means of terrorist aggression, it separated half of our country. Even today India refuses to give the people of Kashmir the right of self determination to which they are entitled under UN resolutions. We are called terrorists for giving moral help, and India is considered innocent. It is regrettable that Benazir, for the sake of her own personal interests, failed to speak for the people of Pakistan. She should have asked the U. S. who is the terrorist we or the U. S., which has enslaved the world, which has kept even the UN under its control so that only those resolutions approved by the U. S. are passed. Any effort which does not meet with U. S. approval is vetoed. No resolution can be passed against the U. S. or

even against Israel. Any ruler of a Third World country who tries to deviate from this rule is done away with as has happened in Pakistan, from Liaquat Ali Khan to General Zia. We are so helpless that we cannot even reveal the identities of the assassins of our leaders. Our country was cut into pieces, but the study of this conspiracy ([prepared by] the Hamud Al Rahman Commission) has not been published to this day.

If we look at the countries around us, we see that the only one who is safe is the president of Iraq, Saddam, because he gave an opportunity to the U. S. not only to interfere in the Gulf, but also to maintain a permanent presence there. By interfering in the Gulf the U. S. has found some relief from its own abject economic conditions; part of the expenses of U. S. forces are being paid by Arab countries. Saddam set the oil wells of Kuwait on fire, but the U. S. got the contract to put out the fires. When Iraqi forces spread destruction, the Americans are placed in charge of reconstruction. No other country has benefitted more from the [Gulf] war than the U. S.

Someone should ask the U.S. whether Israel's expansionist actions and support for this expansionism are not terrorism. Does the U.S. consider attacks on Lebanon unjustified, and the bombing of Iraq's nuclear plant a meritorious deed? When we try to achieve nuclear capability for peaceful uses and for our own prosperity, we are regarded as terrorists, but those who bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki are not considered terrorists. Is not economic boycott and sealing off another's borders terrorism? It is in fact international terrorism. When the Islamic Front won by democratic means in Algeria, this so-called lover and champion of democracy used martial law to prevent their assuming office. The support of martial law on the one hand, and claims of the support of democracy on the other, and then the patronage of South Africa's racist government, this is America's new world order which revolves solely around American interests. No one else's interests matter; the first priority is always U. S. rule over the world. The writer is certain that the U. S. will never be able to designate Pakistan a terrorist country, because it knows that if it does so the self-respecting people of Pakistan will surely show the U.S. what terrorists really are. The vital people of Pakistan, who are inspired by the spirit of patriotism and Islam, will teach the U.S. the real meaning of terrorism. The stopping of foreign aid failed to do any injury to the people; economic boycott will not break their spirit either.

The people of Pakistan have full faith in God, who created them, and who provides for their needs. That is why the U.S. has not taken any decision so far; it has kept us on its watch list and will continue to do so. It is forced to postpone its decision. It is under the wrong impression that fear will force us to do its bidding, but we are people who have no fear. We have faith in God, our Provider and the Superpower. If God grants us life, these eyes will witness the dismemberment of the United

States. Its ruin is now inevitable; what has befallen the Soviet Union today will be the fate of the United States tomorrow.

Paper Assails Christopher for Anti-Iran Statement
BK1607144993 Lahore JANG in Urdu 30 Jun 93 p 4

[Editorial: "The Statement of the U.S. Secretary of State"]

[Text] The U.S. secretary of state has said that the United States considers Iran as a major problem and, as in the case of Iraq, a combined action must be taken against it also. This statement by the U.S. secretary of state substantiates apprehensions at the international level that the United States does not only bother those countries, which do not endorse its policies, economically and politically, but nor does it consider direct military action in order to punish them for their rightful stance wrong. The recent missile attacks on Iraq by the United States on mere suspicion proves that it justifies all sorts of tricks for realizing its interests and harassing countries that contradict it, which is tantamount to shattering international norms and values. The gravity of the situation is that the United States is now revealing a similar aggressive design against Iran as well, although Iran's case is entirely different from that of Iraq. Iran has not committed any unlawful aggression against any country. But attempts are being made to corner Iran under the pretext of its modest nuclear program whereas it has accepted the international safety regulations and has also categorically stated that its nuclear program is for peaceful purposes only. But it is strange that despite all its assurances, action is being considered against Iran whereas no, let alone any, action, not even a formal protest, was made against Israel and South Africa, who are recognized nuclear powers and who themselves have admitted their nuclear capability. This demonstrates that the United States does not want any Muslim country to become a nuclear power, nor does it want anyone to become economically and militarily strong and pose a threat, in any way, to its future designs.

Urdu Daily Flays U.S. Biased Stand on Missile Program

BK2507133593 Rawalpindi NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 25 Jul 93 p 10

[Editorial: "One More Example of the U.S. Discriminatory Treatment"]

[Text] According to a U.S. State Department spokesman, a U.S. official is likely to warn the Chinese leadership during their disarmament negotiations in Beijing next week that China's supply of missiles to Pakistan may have serious consequences, including possible U.S. economic sanctions against China. So far as China's defense cooperation with the Third World countries, including Pakistan and other Islamic countries, is concerned, the U.S. administration has long

been carrying out negative propaganda against it. Earlier, during the Iran-Iraq war, China was accused of supplying "Silkworm" missiles to Iran, and now it is being alleged that the Chinese Government is supplying M-11- type long-range missiles to Pakistan. In May this year also, when President Clinton extended the most favored nation status to China, the U.S. intelligence agencies briefed him that these missiles were supplied to Pakistan in the form of parts.

The latest U.S. warning to China has come close on the heels of reports that U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher is scheduled to meet the Chinese foreign minister in Singapore next week. The U.S. administration's pressure tactics—adroitly brought into play before the upcoming arms reduction talks—are designed to tilt the outcome of arms negotiations in its favor.

Pakistan's missile program is, undoubtedly, of a very limited nature and was started, moreover, in the face of a massive and well-organized missile development program being pursued by India. Under its ongoing program, India has taken steps to acquire the technology to develop long-range missiles, and development of its medium-range missiles is already in the final stages. As a result of this program, India has now achieved the capability of firing nuclear weapons with the help of these missiles. While India has been developing missiles locally to meet its forces' requirements, it has also been trying to acquire missiles and their technology from Russia. It is, therefore, ironical that instead of pressuring India to abandon its offensive missile development program, the U.S. administration has given New Delhi an open license and is now forcing China not to cooperate with Pakistan in this field. Thus, the discriminatory treatment meted out to Pakistan in connection with its nuclear and other programs is not justifiable under any code of ethics.

U.S. Role in Checking India-Russia Rocket Deal Welcomed

BK0108142393 Karachi NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 21 Jul 93 p 10

[Editorial: "The Need To Maintain Power Equilibrium"]

[Text] According to the BBC, the U.S. authorities have succeeded in persuading Russia to cancel most of the rocket engines and related technology sales to India. Now, Russia will sell only a few rocket engines, but will not transfer the technology to India. Earlier, the U.S. had warned of sanctions against Russia if the latter concluded a deal to this effect with India.

The United States has, undoubtedly, taken a welcome step in having the transfer of rocket engines and technology to India stopped. There is no denying the fact that India has already achieved massive offensive capability by developing its air force and navy much beyond its legitimate defense needs. Now, New Delhi has embarked on an extensive missile development program and has

also successfully test-fired medium-range missiles. The biggest targets of India's military preparations are none else but its neighbors—Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Maldives having already become victims of its military aggression; and it is only due to its military strength that India refuses to resolve the Kashmir problem. Its constant military concentration along Pakistani borders is part of its policy to pressure its neighbor.

Russia and the United States are themselves responsible for destabilizing the military balance in the region by supplying unlimited arms to India. The United States has nonetheless set a good example by keeping Russia from transferring rocket engines and related technology to India. Now, Washington should also pressure India not to go on making these unnecessary military preparations, so that its neighbor Pakistan is not pressured into entering the arms race, even though it does not wish to do so.

Regional Affairs

India Said Maintaining Intransigent Stand on NPT, Kashmir

93AS0935I Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English
23 May 93 p 6

[Editorial: "No End to India's Intransigence"]

[Text] It is not in the least surprising that Pakistan's proposal for declaring South Asia a nuclear-free zone is gaining greater support and credence at the international level. It is the justness and pragmatism inherent in it that have a universal appeal. Many countries including the U.S. have favoured the proposal and the only one opposing it is India. The U.S. is also convinced now that the nuclear non-proliferation treaty [NPT] should be applied in the regional context and is accordingly persuading New Delhi to sign a regional nuclear-free arrangement. Pakistan's Secretary-General, Foreign Affairs, Mr. Akram Zaki, has once again made it clear that Pakistan would not sign NPT unilaterally though it wanted South Asia to be free from nuclear arms. Speaking to foreign correspondents in Beijing during his current visit to China, he asserted that Pakistan had no intention to acquire a nuclear arsenal and hence the idea of having an atom bomb was out of the question. He also decried the motivated propaganda that Islamabad had obtained M-II missiles from China. The latter, Mr. Zaki pointed out, was meticulously abiding by all the tenets of NPT and would not do anything contrary to its international commitments.

Pakistan has been persistently striving for peace and stability in the region so that the people living in it may progress socially and economically. That is why it wants the area to be completely free not only from nuclear arms but also from weapons of mass destruction. It would enable the countries concerned to divert the huge funds being spent on the production and acquisition of arms towards the programmes for the

economic uplift of their peoples. At the same time, Pakistan is working sincerely and ceaselessly for forging cordial relations with all its neighbours including India. But the biggest irritant in the normalisation of ties with India is the Kashmir issue. What is constantly increasing the tension and intensifying the arms race between them is India's ruthless suppression of the indigenous freedom movement in Kashmir which had come in the wake of international developments resulting from the dismemberment of the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, New Delhi is not only flouting its own solemn commitments under the United Nations resolutions but also refusing to work towards a negotiated settlement. On the contrary its 450,000 strong army continues to commit inhuman atrocities in the occupied areas. The occupation forces are killing innocent citizens, indulging in gang rapes and burning cities and towns. Human rights organisations and newsmen all over the world are being denied entry into the Held Kashmir to see what is actually happening there. In the latest act of terrorism and suppression, Indian troops resorted to indiscriminate firing on the cease-fire line and imposed curfew on Srinagar to curb rallies and processions on the third anniversary of the martyrdom of Maulvi Mohammad Farooq. The question is—how long will the genocide of the Kashmiris continue? How long will the world community take to do something tangible to stop it? India cannot suppress the Kashmiris' dauntless struggle for their right of self-determination forever. There will be ever intensifying cycle of more suppression and more resistance. So the sooner India realises the futility of its policy of repression, the better for it and for the cause of peace and stability in the region. The only alternative for it is to recognise the Kashmiris' right to decide their own destiny and seek a just and equitable solution of the issue that has bedevilled relations between the two countries for over four decades.

Afghan Peace Accords Termed 'Fragile', 'Futile'

93AS0935A Lahore THE NATION in English
11 Jun 93 p 6

[Article by Muhammad Arif Azim: "The Futility of Afghan Peace Accords"]

[Text] The fragility of peace accords between Afghanistan's warring factions was fully exposed early this week when the Afghan Prime Minister, Gulbadin Hikmatyar, failed to attract even a handful of members of his Cabinet to his base camp at Charasiab south of Kabul for holding his first Cabinet meeting. Only two members of the Cabinet belonging to the Hizbe Wahdat, Hikmatyar's Shi'ite allies, turned up on Friday and when Hikmatyar tried to hold the meeting again the next day, just eight were present out of the twenty-one member Cabinet.

Nine years of Soviet occupation and three years of uncertainty subsequent to the withdrawal of occupation troops should have been enough to make the leaders of Afghanistan's numerous warring factions relish the importance and advantages of ending Afghanistan's

internecine conflict; instead, the tribal and ethnic factions engaged in the battle royal for control over Afghanistan have added another year to the calendar of Afghan bloodshed. A political settlement of the Afghan imbroglio has thus far been a tedious if not hazardous exercise and there are no signs that peace is on the Afghan horizon in the immediate future. Despite foreign mediation, efforts by the United Nations, one-on-one negotiations between faction commanders and even a visit to Makkah, Afghanistan has been at war with itself since the enemy went back home.

The slide began with Najibullah's rather hasty departure. Although the Afghan dictator had managed to hang on to power for more than five years, he had reconciled himself to the fact that power would ultimately have to be transferred to the Mujahideen. Abandoned all of a sudden by the defection of General Abdul Rashid Dostum and his powerful Uzbek militia as also by Tajik commanders who threw in their lot with Ahmed Shah Masud, Najibullah had no option but to sue for peace at a time when few people were prepared for the resultant vacuum of power in Kabul. Najibullah had earlier indicated that he was prepared to part with authority provided the transfer of power would be subject to a workable plan and an interim governing council sponsored by the United Nations was put in place to assume control of the government and restore order instead of plunging the country towards further anarchy.

But that interim governing council did not materialise because United Nations' efforts were frustrated by Najibullah's hurried departure and a sprint towards Kabul by Mujahideen forces. In any case, the Mujahideen were clearly unwilling to render unequivocal support of UN plans due to apprehensions that the proposed United Nations peace plan aimed to take away power from the Mujahideen and prevent establishment of a fundamentalist government in the country. As a result of Najibullah's capitulation, huge quantities of Afghan army arms and ammunition fell into the hands of General Dostum's forces and Ahmed Shah Masud's victorious army. At the same time, guerrilla factions fighting for control of the country had yet to be disarmed.

Had the United Nations peace proposals prevailed, Afghanistan's tribal and religious factions involved in the fighting would have been given an achievable peace agreement and sufficient time to surrender their arms. But as events turned out, while General Dostum and Ahmed Shah Masud picked up huge stockpiles of arms in Kabul, Gulbadin Hikmatyar's arsenal also survived, leaving enough war material in Afghanistan to last a lifetime. The net result is that Kabul has been the scene of a bitter fight between Ahmed Shah Masud's Jamiati-Islami and Engineer Gulbadin Hikmatyar's Hizbe Islami.

The two main Mujahideen leaders are sworn enemies. Masud is a Tajik and even though he made it clear time and again that he does not intend to divide the country on ethnic lines nor impose a Tajik-dominated governing

council on the country, his forces essentially represent the interests of the Tajik community which comprises about twenty-five per cent of the Afghan population. Along with the Uzbeks and other ethnic groups along the border with the former Soviet Union, the Takiks have strong ethnic ties with the Central Asian republics and thus for the first time in the history of Afghanistan, they have the confidence to face the Pashtun majority.

On the other hand, Hikmatyar is from the Pushtun, the ethnic group which constitutes almost one-half of the Afghan population and have been the traditional rulers of Afghanistan. The problem with Hikmatyar, however, is that he is a fundamentalist and clearly not acceptable to the others. Hikmatyar doesn't suit the west and the Central Asian republics either. There are fears that establishment of a fundamentalist government in Kabul could destabilise the Central Asian republics and maybe rekindle an Islamic revivalist movement in Turkey also.

The signing of a jerry-built agreement between Afghanistan's warring factions at Islamabad in early March created some hope for peace. According to the terms of the Islamabad Accord, President Burhanuddin Rabbani was to continue in office for another eighteen months and his arch-rival, Gulbadin Hikmatyar became the Prime Minister. Within two weeks, a Ministerial Cabinet was to be appointed jointly by the President, the Prime Minister and the leaders of Mujahideen factions. The agreement provided for the establishment of a powerful Defence Council, comprising two members from each party, which was to be responsible mainly for the formation of a national army, demobilising warring factions and taking control of all weapons, and taking other measures for restoring peace in the country. The pact also set up an independent Election Commission for ensuring and supervising the holding of free and fair elections for a grand Constituent Assembly within eight months from the signing of the peace accord. The agreement further provided for a ceasefire and cessation of hostilities to be monitored by a joint commission comprising representatives of the OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference] and all Afghan parties.

Fighting continued in and around Kabul despite the signing of the peace accord. Mujahideen fighting has resulted in 5,000 civilian deaths in Kabul, left more than 100,000 injured and a third of the city's 1.5 million population has fled the capital. Uncertainty continues because many vital questions remained unanswered in Islamabad. The agreement was absolutely silent on the method of division of cabinet portfolios or the number of portfolios to be offered to various factions. The agreement did not specify what would happen to General Dostum and his powerful Uzbek militia which controls most of Kabul. Dostum, who helped Masud walk into Kabul, presently controls five northern provinces as also Mazar Sharif, Afghanistan's second largest city. Similarly, there was no decision on the future of Ahmed Shah Masud and what role he was likely or expected to play in the interim government. Whereas Hikmatyar's associates claimed that the establishment of a Defence Council

dispensed with the portfolio of the Defence Minister, the agreement did not promise any such thing.

The agreement would not have survived because it guaranteed Hikmatyar something which was denied to him militarily. Sure enough, the agreement held only partially and was refined at Jalalabad two weeks ago but then again, Hikmatyar has yet to reap the fruits of the formula for power-sharing. Hikmatyar may be the Prime Minister but his failure to get the Cabinet to meet has cast serious doubts on the willingness of the remaining factions to accept him. A spokesman for the Afghan President stated that the Cabinet meeting was quite premature as neither the Prime Minister nor his Cabinet had been formally sworn-in. And further that the Cabinet should meet in Kabul instead of convening at a place from where Hikmatyar has been bombarding the capital. Ironically, Hikmatyar is clearly reluctant to enter Kabul for the swearing-in ceremony as it would require the surrender of his heavy arms.

Indian Military Said Cleared To Use Nuclear Weapons

93AS0957C Karachi JANG in Urdu 15 Jun 93 p 3

[Editorial: "Permission To Use Nuclear Weapons."]

[Text] According to a U. S. report, commanders of Indian troops have been given permission to use nuclear weapons under definite conditions of war. In view of the speed with which India has followed the policy of becoming a nuclear power, it was inevitable that it would arm its troops with nuclear weapons. The U.S., which has been pressuring Pakistan to change its nuclear policy unilaterally, should now speak up regarding India's nuclear preparations. Under such circumstances, no Pakistani government can bow to U. S. pressure and unilaterally change its nuclear policy. For the sake of its national security and preserving its freedom, Pakistan should abandon its apologetic attitude toward nuclear policy and lose no time in preparing nuclear weapons. It is quite evident that the U. S. and the great powers are united in their determination to destroy the Islamic world; they are not ready to see an increase in the defensive strength of any Islamic country and the revival of Islamic movements. However, the results would be tragic if Muslim countries laid down their arms under U. S. pressure. Such an action would be tantamount to the acceptance of defeat by the Islamic world. Pakistan wants to remove differences with India over nuclear policy on a regional basis and is justified in demanding that restrictions should apply equally to both countries. After the measures India has taken, Pakistan now has an additional moral justification for maintaining its stand unswervingly; any softness on the issue will be considered harmful to the security needs of Pakistan.

Nuclear Deterrent to India Claimed 'Imperative'

93AS0983D Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
20 Jun 93 p 10

[Editorial: "India's Nuclear Preparation: Deterrent Is Needed."]

[Text] Addressing a group of senior U. S. officials and experts in Washington, Muneer Ahmad Khan, former head of Pakistan's Atomic Energy Commission, said that India possessed 400 kilograms of the kind of plutonium which could be used to produce 50 to 100 atomic weapons; that India also had the capability of producing annually 45 kilograms of the type of plutonium which could be used to build 8 to 10 nuclear bombs; India also had the capability of delivering atomic warheads up to a distance of 1500 miles and could increase this distance to 3000 miles. As regards India's nuclear preparation, it continues to increase not only plutonium producing reactors, but, as part of its permanent program of atomic fuel production, it is building heavy water producing plants. After exploding an atomic device in 1974, India has turned its attention to missile production. It has conducted several experiments, the latest only a few days ago, on extending the range of its Prithvi missile. These Indian missiles which can carry nuclear warheads pose a great danger to India's neighbours. India's inimical behaviour toward Pakistan is no secret; confident of its strength, India has committed aggression against Pakistan several times in the past. India's present unlimited atomic weapons capability has exposed Pakistan and other countries to the danger of a nuclear attack. Ironically, India not only refuses to sign the international nuclear nonproliferation treaty but is not serious either about seeking a regional solution for the problem. However, Western attitude toward this behaviour is that they exert pressure only on Pakistan to roll back its program when the fact is that Pakistan needs a nuclear deterrent in order not only to protect its borders, which have been subjected to aggression by India in the past, but also to forestall India's aggressive designs. The expansion of the Indian navy, India's missile building programs, refusal to accept international limitations on its nuclear program, all these actions have a certain purpose behind them and reflect Hindu plans for hegemony. Pakistan should refuse to bow to Western pressure and acquire nuclear deterrence. Western countries for their part should be just and realistic, and, instead of discriminating against Pakistan, should curb India.

Government Urged To Avoid Flexibility on Kashmir

93AS0983B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
25 Jun 93 p 4

[Editorial: "Kashmir Will Become Pakistan."]

[Text] On her return from Vienna where she participated in the UN international conference on human rights, Nusrat Bhutto, chairperson of the People's Party, said that the calls for an independent Kashmir were baseless

and that after freedom Kashmir would have to become a part of Pakistan. Begum Nusrat Bhutto expressed regret that the foreign office had made several changes in her written speech as a result of which she had been unable to bring up many important points in regard to the Kashmir issue; nevertheless, she had made up for some of the shortcomings in her speech. With reference to human rights, Nusrat Bhutto revealed in Vienna the atrocities committed in Kashmir by India and drew strong protests from the Indian delegate. Begum Bhutto represented the interests of Pakistan in a very efficient fashion and won over world public opinion on the Kashmir issue to Pakistan's side. She is absolutely right in labelling as fraud the calls for an independent Kashmir and pointing out that this was an attempt to side-track the issue.

We should never budge from our stand that the only solution of the Kashmir issue is to give the people of Kashmir the right to hold a referendum. They should decide their own future and say whether they wish to join India or Pakistan. The UN has recognized this right, and India also promised before the world that it would allow the Kashmiris to hold a referendum. Thus, we should not show the slightest flexibility in our position. It is a good omen that the chairperson of the Pakistan People's Party has openly opposed an independent Kashmir and has adopted the position also held by other parties that Kashmir is a part of Pakistan and will eventually become so in fact. Begum Nusrat Bhutto's open declaration has undoubtedly disappointed the hopes of those world powers who had hoped to exploit the political confrontations in Pakistan. In conclusion, we demand that the prime minister conduct an enquiry to uncover the identity of the black sheep in the foreign office who insisted on making changes in Nusrat Bhutto's unequivocal speech on Kashmir. This sheep will have to be sacrificed for the sake of Kashmir; it would be permissible even to behead the sheep [non-Muslim method of slaughter].

Paper on Security Threat Posed by India-Israel Ties

BK1607124593 Lahore JANG in Urdu 4 Jul 93 p 4

[Editorial: "India-Israel Pact"]

[Text] With the announcement of the resumption of ties between India and Israel, it became apparent that, now, India and Israel will together work for hegemony in the region. Later, the visit of the Israeli foreign minister to India has contributed to this. Now, it has been announced that India and Israel are going to hold a joint military exercise very soon. Two important objectives of these exercises have been outlined. One is to reduce the security threat to India and the other to enable India acquire the defense technology which is used by Israel to crush the [Palestinian] uprising. On careful observation, it becomes clear that there will not be any positive objective to this kind of military cooperation.

It is also noteworthy that the acts of conspiracy launched by India through Israel will flare up tension between Pakistan and India which will prove greatly detrimental to world peace as well. Major powers, especially the United States, should see that the region where they want peace is not marred by the India-Israel pact.

Closer Relations With Bangladesh Seen Important

93LA0139A Karachi AMN in Urdu 9 Jul 93 p 4

[Editorial: "Pakistan and Bangladesh Union"]

[Text] Mr. Mehmood Ali, chairman of the National Council for Social Welfare, said that the people of Bangladesh still weep over Pakistan's division, because this division did not occur because of their wishes, but as a result of Indian aggression. If Pakistan's government pays serious attention to annexing Bangladesh, then the latter's people will be ready to raise cries of "Long Live Pakistan." He said that even after 22 years he had not accepted Bangladesh mentally, and that is why he did not accompany Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif there. The visa stamp to Bangladesh on his passport would have been a weight on his conscience.

Mr. Mehmood Ali is not the only person who has refused to accept Bangladesh in his heart or to accompany the prime minister to Dhaka. The stamp of a Bangladesh visa would have become a weight on his conscience. Not only in Pakistan and Bangladesh, but in many other countries, there are people who have not accepted Bangladesh in their minds. About two lakh besieged Pakistanis are still living lives worse than those of animals in Bangladesh. They moved to East Pakistan from India after independence. Because this area is no longer part of Pakistan, they refuse to accept the citizenship of this country. They want to move to Pakistan. There are still a large number of Muslims in Bangladesh. There is a Muslim government there. However, these besieged people love Pakistan, and they left India to go to Pakistan. The government of Bangladesh offered them citizenship and all political, economic, and social rights. But these people love Pakistan and have waited 22 years in extremely dilapidated huts to return to their beloved country, and they have no source of income. Many of them have lost their lives to poverty, sickness, and mental depression.

The affair of individual emotions is different from historical facts. After East Pakistan became Bangladesh, Chairman Bhutto's government was established in Pakistan, and it strongly opposed accepting Bangladesh. However, other countries gradually began to recognize Bangladesh, and a time soon came when Pakistan's government recognized Bangladesh against its wishes, because historical facts cannot be ignored over one's feelings.

It can be recognized that there are still people in Bangladesh who weep over Pakistan's division and are willing to join their country with Pakistan. However, if the majority of Bangladeshis consider Bangladesh the result

of Indian aggression and had sincere love for Pakistan, then during the last 22 years, they would have offered demonstrations of their pro-Pakistani attitudes at one time or another. There is no power in the world that can stop the majority of the people from expressing their feelings. The happenings in occupied Palestine and occupied Kashmir are in front of the world. What happened in Afghanistan was seen worldwide. Everyone has seen the result of the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and the situation that occurs as a result of the differences between various groups can be seen in Bosnia.

There is no problem between Pakistan and Bangladesh. Both countries are on friendly terms. They can increase political, economic, and cultural cooperation; however, when they see their national interests, they will find it difficult to join with each other. Still, just like many other countries that have formed unions, these two countries can form a union or a confederation. However, if Pakistan tries to establish a confederation, there will be some negative political effects within the nation. Some political elements in our country are opposed to the present federation. They are demanding total autonomy for the states and support making Pakistan a confederation of these states. The politicians who believe in national unity consider it fatal for Pakistan.

Editorial Warns Russia Over Aggression in Tajikistan

93LA0139B Karachi JANG in Urdu 20 Jul 93 p 3

[Editorial: "Russian Aggression: U.N. Pay Attention"]

[Text] The way the Russian government has started military interference in Tajikistan, using the excuse of conflicts between Islamic forces and communist elements, has raised the possibility of armed confrontation between Russia and Afghanistan to a dangerous level. This will not be easy for people who are unable to understand anti-Islamic conspiracies. The fact is that the Russian government, bringing its armed forces to Tajikistan's borders, is a direct danger to the Islamic democracy of Afghanistan. The Russian government has taken this step according to some well thought-of plan. Some people even say that the Russian president met with the leaders of the Big Seven conference recently, and, not only got economic aid for his country, but also got their support to use force in controlling Islamic influence in the newly independent republics of Central Asia. He began attacks on Afghanistan's border at the encouragement of his country. This way Russia, only a few years after being embarrassed by the Afghan people, has again taken the dangerous route of open aggression against its weak neighbors. Gorbachev, who was president of Russia at the time, declared along with his military chiefs that they would never take such an action.

The conflict between communist elements and Islamic forces in Tajikistan is purely an internal affair. The situation is analogous to the situation in Afghanistan in the early '70s prior to Russian aggression. Two or three

days ago we advised the Russian leadership about it and told it to sincerely accept the fact that the Soviet Union is finished. It should respect the independence and autonomy of those former Soviet Union states which have become members of the United Nations as independent countries. It should not look for an excuse to interfere in these countries' internal affairs. Russia should abstain from creating an unnecessarily dangerous situation and jeopardizing peace in this whole region just to establish its supremacy there. Finally, we are appealing to the United Nations to not lose any time, and to force Russia to recall its soldiers from Tajikistan immediately. If, because of some pressure or for some other reason, this action is delayed, then we are afraid that the Tajikistan situation will become just like that of Afghanistan. Russia also should not forget a fact which is clear as day: If a superpower like the Soviet Union could not establish military control over Afghanistan, then Russia, suffering from defeat and other problems, is not being wise in confronting the people of Tajikistan and Afghanistan. Here we would like to bring some facts to the Russian leaders' attention. The United States of America and other anti-Islamic forces might be using Russia as a front to attack Islam in this region. Perhaps that is why they have given Russia economic aid, in order to use it for their own vested interests. If this happens, then it would be Russia that would lose, because the Western powers will be sitting at a distance and Russia would be fighting their proxy war. The Western powers will protect themselves from notoriety and will not suffer any human or material loss either. However, Russia will have to put a lot at stake, and will end up buying the animosity of the whole Islamic world. It should never involve itself in such an expensive deal.

Russia Seen Interfering in Tajikistan

93LA0139C Karachi JANG in Urdu 20 Jul 93 p 3

[Editorial: "Russian Interference in Tajikistan"]

[Text] The news of the Russian Parliament, giving permission to the Russian military in Tajikistan to take any action, and to send more military forces there, is a cause for serious concern. The Islamic groups in Tajikistan have been having a tug-of-war with the communists for a long time. In this struggle the Russian army is obviously helping the communists and working against the Islamic group. With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the Central Asian Republics are considered to be politically independent; however, there is fear now that Russia wants to maintain its political, economic, and military influence in these countries. Later this information was verified when Russia expressed its wish to the U. S. and European Community to, in light of Russian interests, accept the right of Russia to interfere in these newly independent countries. The way Russia is now interfering in these countries, in its military interference in Tajikistan, are unmasking its hidden ambitions. They mentioned an agreement between these two countries in this context; however, the real facts and background about this agreement are known to the whole world.

Russia has made a similar agreement as the ground for military interference in Afghanistan. However, it had to face such a serious crisis there that it had to bear the worst and most embarrassing defeat of its history. Perhaps Russia has forgotten this. The Russian ambition in Tajikistan indicates clearly that the expansionist and imperialist ambitions of the czarist period are being reincarnated in its mind. Russia has warned the Central Asian Republics about close relations with Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey. This is open interference in the internal affairs of independent and autonomous countries. It is also equal to dictating its policies on them. Islamic countries and the international brotherhood should regard this Russian policy very seriously, because, if this tendency is not stopped now, then there will be very serious results in the future.

Paper Condemns 'Indian Involvement' in Terrorism

*BK2307115493 Islamabad THE NATION
in English 23 Jul 93 p 7*

[Editorial: "RAW agents"]

[Text] In the absence of any firm evidence as to who was behind the recent events of terrorism in Urban Sindh, a strong suspect, in the light of its track record, seemed to be the disgruntled elements of the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement]. But the confusion on the subject should clear with the report that three Indian agents apprehended by the law enforcement agencies on suspicion of involvement in terrorist activities have actually confessed that they were behind the indiscriminate firing incident of July 18 in Hyderabad as well as some other subversive activities. These men are said to have received formal training in methods of subversion and terrorism across the border for the purpose of creating political instability in the relatively more vulnerable part of the country. If anyone needs to look for a motive behind all this at this point in time that should be readily available in the Indian government's frustration over the sudden failure of its persistent campaign to have Pakistan declared a terrorist state by the U.S. for its alleged help to freedom-fighters in Occupied Kashmir and Sikh militants in Punjab.

There is nothing new about Indian involvement in acts of subversion [words indistinct] here whenever an opportunity presented itself, from all the way back to the days of turmoil in the former East Pakistan to the recent times. Its infamous intelligence agency, Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) is known to have been involved in several acts of terrorism in this country, particularly in Sindh. That in fact has been a favourite RAW area of activity. Though Pakistan has a long record of protesting against such outrages, it has never tried to use them as a propaganda point. As things stand today, it would be only fair for the U.S. administration officials, particularly the ones who until recently lent a receptive ear to India's vilification campaign against this country and were preparing to put the label of terrorist on it, to look

into recurring incidents of terrorist violence in Pakistan also that show an Indian linkage and put the blame where it belongs.

Reported Indian Plan To Carry Out Terrorism Viewed

*BK3007131993 Rawalpindi JANG in Urdu
28 Jul 93 p 3*

[Editorial: "Indian Plan To Carry Out Terrorism"]

[Text] A recent report indicates that India is working fast on a plan to carry out terrorism and subversion in Pakistan during the elections. It is indeed unfortunate for the people of South Asia that India, despite being the largest country in the region which should have worked along with other regional countries for the progress and prosperity of the people of this area and for peace and security in the region, always keeps herself busy in attempting to establish hegemony in the region. Obviously, such a negative, self-seeking, and expansionist policy will only contribute to tension, mistrust, and confrontation and will definitely not be conducive to the creation of an atmosphere of peace and confidence in the region.

There is no sign of any cessation of India's chain of conspiracies, particularly against Pakistan. Every Indian step from the separation of East Pakistan to the trampling of the Kashmiri people's right to self-determination, even the genocide of Muslims residing in India itself, is actually aimed at harming Pakistan's interests. Despite India herself being engaged in awfully dangerous nuclear preparations, the Indian policy-makers devote all their energies in maligning Pakistan. It sees Pakistan's hand behind its every internal problem and disdainfully and shamelessly embarks on carrying out false propaganda against Pakistan in an attempt to mislead the world.

If one makes a contrasting review of Pakistan's conciliatory efforts and the positive and practical proposals which it made from time to time in order to restore confidence, then he will have no doubt in realizing the fact that Pakistan desires the establishment of good relations with India at all levels and it sincerely wishes resolution of all contentious issues in accordance with the principles of justice and fair play. But the Indian rulers seem to be suffering from a mental prejudice and a deep-rooted animosity against Pakistan due to which they are not willing to accept the very existence of Pakistan.

Obviously, such a negative and hostile attitude of the Indian rulers cannot be termed anything else, but a dangerous psychological disorder. Therefore, the Government of Pakistan should very seriously note the latest report which said that India is actively working on a plan to carry out terrorism and subversion in Pakistan during the elections. India is now enjoying Israeli cooperation and guidance in this regard, which signals a danger for peace and security in this region. We feel that it would

not be appropriate to ignore the report and consider it insignificant. No good can ever be expected from a guileful and malicious country like India.

Therefore, it should be our endeavor to step up our vigil along the border in its real sense and to keep a close watch on the movement of foreigners, who have no legal or reasonable justification for staying in Pakistan, so that such people can be prevented from doing any mischief during the elections. It is also imperative for our political parties to realize national responsibility and to adopt a serious approach, thereby depriving the enemy of any opportunity to hatch a conspiracy against our beloved motherland.

Editorial Urges End to Regional Arms Race

BK3107105593 Karachi DAWN in English
31 Jul 93 p 11

[Editorial: "India's Rejectionism"]

[Text] For the second time in six years, India has turned down Pakistan's proposal for a nuclear test ban treaty between the two countries. A similar proposal in 1987 had also evoked a negative response from New Delhi. It is strange that India's position on the nuclear race in South Asia should have remained unchanged after all these years of epoch-making changes and developments radically transforming the international scene. There could be two reasons for that. First, India's nuclear supremacy in the region has not given it a real sense of security—which, of course, is as hard to explain in rational terms as its plea that it feels threatened by Pakistan and China. The second possibility is that India continues to nurture its hegemonic ambitions in this region and, therefore, would not like to reduce its military power by cutting down its arsenal.

In either case, New Delhi should realise that the nuclear option will not promote its bloated national ambitions at all. A policy of expansionism is obsolete in the post-decolonisation age when established states of long standing have disintegrated into smaller entities. If, on the other hand, India's policy is determined by its security concerns, it is logical that it should have readily agreed to participate in a five-power nuclear disarmament conference proposed by Pakistan some time ago and endorsed by Washington. A conference attended by the two subcontinent neighbours, China, Russia and America would ensure the negotiation of an Indo-Pakistan arms cut arrangement within a regional framework. It would obviously take note of the question of Sino-Indian nuclear balance as well.

Logically, some kind of arms cut arrangement between India and Pakistan is the need of the hour. Given the several disputes between them—Kashmir being the most emotive and intractable—the relations between the two countries have been at a very low ebb for many years. In fact, they have on a number of occasions in the last two decades come to the brink of hostilities,

and diplomatic intervention by third parties has prevented them from going to war with each other. In such a situation, a move to lower the armament level in the region makes sense. Even a treaty to freeze the nuclear capability of the two countries at the existing level would be better than giving the reins to a deadly arms race that would make South Asia a tinderbox ready to explode on the slightest friction.

It is time the governments of India and Pakistan gave serious thought to arms cut proposals, if for no other reasons than at least to release resources for poverty alleviation. At present, 30 per cent of the people in Pakistan and 49 per cent in India live below the poverty line. Yet they spend 6.6 per cent and 3.3 percent, respectively, of their GDP on defence. In fact, India's arms imports constitute nearly 15 percent of its total imports. Because of its bigger resources India can still spend a substantial amount on its social sector—its military expenditure being 80 percent of its health and education spendings. In that context, Pakistan's situation is even worse. Its defence expenditure is 239 percent of its combined health and education budgets. New Delhi and Islamabad should ponder the consequences of such an unsustainable situation. The need is for them to correct their mutual threat perceptions and control military spending, so that they can work for the uplift of their people. If in the process the risk of a war in the subcontinent is reduced, who would regret it or lose by it?

Internal Affairs

Group Formed To Pave Way for Islamic Revolution

93AS0957A Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu
30 May 93 p 3

[News Report: "In Dara Adam Kheel, the Formation of Anjuman-I-Mafruran-I-Suba Sarhad [Organization of Fugitives of the Frontier Province] Was Announced; the Mafruran of the Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Sindh, and Punjab Played Notable Parts in the Establishment of the Organization; the Aim of the Organization Is To Preserve the Rights of Fugitives and Pave the Way for an Islamic Revolution."

[Text] Mardan (bureau news): In Dara Kheel, Mafruran [fugitives] of the Frontier Province announced the formation of Anjuman-I-Mafruran-Suba Sarhad the aim of which is to preserve the rights of the Mafruran and to bring about an Islamic revolution. The chairman of the organization, Malik Ali Rahman Khan Mehmmand, recently addressed a large gathering of Mafruran in Dara Adam Kheel in connection with this event. According to reports received by Mardan bureau office, the meeting was chaired by Dilaram Khan Afridi, head of Dara Adam Kheel Mafruran. On his arrival in Dara Adam Kheel, Malik Ali Rahman Mehmmand was greeted by machine gun fire and rounds from rocket launchers as welcoming gestures by the Mafruran and by all those Muslims who love Islam. In addition to the Mafruran of

the Frontier Province, those from Sindh, Baluchistan, and Punjab also took part in the gathering. Humayun Khan Baloch, head of the Baluchistan Mafruran, travelled to the area with the express purpose of participating in the meeting. Malik Ali Rahman Mehmand said that his organization had no political aims nor did he himself wish to become a political leader; that the organization was formed by revolutionaries inspired by Islamic fervor who had been forced by circumstances to become fugitives. He said that they [the Mafruran] were at one time aligned with the People's Party, but that they had resigned from that party after forming their own organization. He said that his organization would avenge the blood of innocent Muslims shed in India, the U. S., Israel, and Serbia. He said that, following the formation of the Mafruran organization in Sindh, a central organization would be set up and that he would soon tour Sindh accompanied by a 50 member delegation. In the course of the meeting, Baluchistan organization's chairman Humayun Khan Baloch and Dilaram Afridi praised Ali Rahman's experience and ability and expressed full confidence in his leadership. At the conclusion of the meeting, Malik Ali Rahman thanked the Mafruran and all those who loved Islam.

Formation of Pakistan Islamic Front Analyzed

Third Force

93AS0933A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
31 May 93 p 10

[Article by Adeeb Javadani: "Jamaat-i-Islami's Effort To Create a Third Force."]

[Text] Addressing a convention of ulema [religious scholars], Qazi Hussain Ahmad, leader of Jamaat-i-Islami [JI], made the impressive announcement that, henceforth, what the ulema wanted would come about in the country. True, religious scholars deserve respect, and it is also true that Jamaat-i-Islami is a very well organized party, but the fact remains that religious scholars have never been able to come to an agreement among themselves. Muslim sectarian divisions appear with much greater intensity among religious scholars so much so that none of them will consent even to pray behind another [that would show that they belong to the same sect or tolerate the other's philosophy]. Even during the spirited Pakistan Qaumi Ittehad [PNA] movement, though the ulema appeared on each other's platform, they nevertheless refused to pray behind each other. Whenever General Zia was asked to promulgate a total Islamic system, his first question would be which of the laws of the various sects he should promulgate, and, that if the laws of one sect were promulgated, what assurance was there that those who followed the laws and traditions of other sects would acquiesce. General Zia always used as justification for not promulgating an Islamic system the argument that progress toward an Islamic system would be possible only when the ulema demonstrated an agreement of views. Undoubtedly, General Zia who exercised total

power used the argument as an excuse to keep himself in the clear for, if he had really wanted, he could have promulgated an Islamic system through martial law or a decree. But to relieve himself of any responsibility, he always used dissension among the ulema as an excuse and a justification. Hence, when the religious scholars themselves cannot agree over the promulgation of a purely Islamic system, why, how, and when can they be expected to unite for the mere sake of politics?

Undoubtedly, the strength of Jamaat-i-Islami lies in its organization, but its disciplined strength was never able to secure for it a majority in the elections. If it should now try to unite the ulema, its success would be as doubtful as its ability to gain a majority in the elections. Jamaat-i-Islami suffered abject defeats in the 1985, 1988, and 1990 elections in Sindh whereas a linguistic party in Sindh emerged as a major force. This party's politics may have been controversial, but its past and perhaps present popular support is undeniable. JI had effective organizations in Sindh's major cities, but its organizational strength did not save it from defeat in the cities which JI regarded as its bulwarks.

It appears that Qazi Hussain Ahmad wants to bring forth the ulema as a third force; he has pointed out that both Benazir and Nawaz Sharif had proved to be failures, but that does not mean that JI can fill the vacuum with a third force of its own creation. The fact is that in its present form JI has diverged from the ideology and philosophy of its founder and leader, Sayed Abulala Maududi; quite far reaching changes have taken place in JI and one example of those is Qazi Hussain Ahmad himself. However, we do not wish to get involved in personalities, but we would like to mention JI's cultural programs which Maulana Maududi would never have countenanced. JI members now present plays as part of these cultural programs which obviously serve the purpose of reaching the people. JI has also established a branch organization called Pasban which is said to have as its objective protest against oppression and cruelty; however, JI has used this organization to extend its popularity among the people. As to how far this effort has succeeded, that's another matter.

We do not think that Qazi Hussain Ahmad's new dream of making the ulema a "third force" will have much success. Unity among religious scholars of all sects is a commendable objective, but it will never become a practical fact.

We are unable to understand why, instead of trying to make the ulema a third force, JI does not step forward as a popular party. Rather than beating around the bush, it would be much better if JI stepped into the arena itself and tried to achieve its goal. Uniting the religious scholars is a distant goal. Perhaps by making these claims, JI may be looking for an excuse to say that though its own intentions were sincere, the ulema failed to cooperate. JI could thus blame its own lack of success on the religious scholars. This is not a seemly action;

hence, we advise JI to accept full responsibility, step from its platform into the field of action, and show what it is capable of achieving.

Seen Lacking Cohesion

93AS0933B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
26 May 93 p 4

[Editorial: "Pakistan Islamic Front: Prayers for Its Well Being."]

[Text] Jamaat-i-Islami [JI] has formed the Pakistan Islam Front to participate in the election campaign. Qazi Hussain Ahmad, the leader of JI, said that the Front will prove an important milestone in the nation's political life. In addition to JI, the Front includes other politicians and retired military officers. It had been rumored for some time that in order to participate in politics and elections, JI would form a new political party; the formation of the Islamic Front proves that the rumors were based on fact. JI has felt the need of a separate platform to participate in election politics. The reason for this is best known to JI itself, but, from its very inception, there has been a difference of opinion among JI leaders as to whether JI should only offer religious guidance or participate in politics as well. This dissension over its role created internal struggles in JI. Maulana Amin Ahsan Islahi and a group of important JI leaders left the party in the fifties as a result of their opposition to participation in politics; now in the nineties the remaining members of the party under the leadership of Qazi Hussain Ahmad have committed themselves to politics. This is a major event in the party's history. One reason JI may have found it necessary to create a separate platform for election politics may be that the possibilities of success in the elections are slim if JI campaigns under its own name. JI may be thinking that if it approached the people under a different name it may succeed in gaining more than 3 or 4 seats. However, when a party campaigning under its own name scores only limited success in the elections, it will not do any better by changing its name. Hence, it is possible that in the next elections Qazi Hussain Ahmad may be forced to align with a major national power, and, on the strength of his Islamic Front, demand more seats. If this is Qazi Ahmad's strategy, then he would have been well advised to wait for the decision of the Supreme Court before forming the Front, for the decision will clarify the future political map.

At any rate, Qazi Hussain Ahmad jumped the gun when he formed the Islamic Front. In the same breath he criticized severely president Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the deposed prime minister Sharif, and former prime minister Benazir. Slogans of "Nawaz Sharif worse and Benazir worst" were shouted during the convention held to form the Front. If he did want to play conventional politics, it would have been more prudent if Qazi Hussain Ahmad had followed the axiom that there are no last words in politics and abstained from emphatic language and final pronouncements. He would have then left the

door open for any future alliance with Nawaz Sharif. At any rate, Qazi Hussain Ahmad severed relations long ago with IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad]. By choosing a separate path now he has shown that, even 46 years after the creation of Pakistan, he has not been able to accept mentally the country's founding party, the Muslim League. On the other hand, it is also true that the Muslim League has not mentally accepted him. Politics in the name of religion has never succeeded in Pakistan because the majority of the people do not believe in sectarianism. That was why after his defeat in the 1970 elections, Maulana Maududi was advised that, instead of running his own candidate for every seat, it would be more advisable if he chose one of the candidates from the other parties as being the best and supported him. If the candidate won, Maududi could then increase his influence through him. The other religious parties in the country also have limited election appeal. There are some pockets of strength where the candidates of these parties win with big majorities, but no religious party has gained countrywide success in the elections. In the last two elections political alliances became popular, and religious parties, like other small parties, formed alliances with the People's Party or the Muslim League. There are at present two major alliances in the country: the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] on one side and IJI on the other. Now a third alliance has emerged. Some parties are gathering on the NDA [National Democratic Alliance] platform, and the rest are preparing to join one or other of the alliances. Political alliances may prove advantageous to some political parties in the short run. Although the affairs of the country may be administered, the politics of alliance does not fulfill the demands of a parliamentary system. Alliances are composed of political parties with differing and sometimes contrasting views, and, once their immediate needs are satisfied, the parties lose no time in separating. In a country where religious scholars refuse to pray behind each other [showing agreement in religious practice and philosophy], unity among religious parties is no more than an ironic joke and no closer now to reality. A parliamentary system demands the existence of at least two major political parties in order that the people may have a strong and stable government which would be answerable to an effective force in the parliament. Alliances and governments, based on alliances, fail quickly in a country like Pakistan where wheeling dealing, self interest, influence of wealth, and corruption are rife, and this failure does irreparable harm to the system. One reason for the weakness and decline of the governments of Benazir and Nawaz Sharif was that gradually the alliance parties abandoned the government. Qazi Hussain Ahmad has used the word "Islamic" for his Front. In Algeria the Islamic Salvation Front won the elections but still failed to gain office; its leaders are now rotting in jail. The reason is the enmity toward Islam of the U.S. and the West. By forming an Islamic Front, Qazi Hussain Ahmad has challenged the U.S. Only the future will show what strength Qazi Ahmad will display against the U.S.. The whole world is scared of fundamentalism; Jews, Christians and Hindus control the world media

and they are presenting the Muslims as "militants." In such a situation, one can only pray for the well being of Qazi Hussain Ahmad's Front. Religious parties should have undertaken the task of improving the morality of the average person in order to cleanse our politics of its worldly blemishes, but religious parties hold the view that social ills should be remedied, not from the level of the average person but from the top at the government level. Only time will show as to how far religious parties will succeed in making society Islamic and the country a modern Islamic state should they gain power.

Nationalist Party

93AS0933C Lahore ZINDAGI in Urdu
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[Article by Khurshid Ahmad Nadeem: "After Pasban, Qazi Hussain Ahmad's New Front; Nawaz Sharif, Benazir and President Ishaq: All Cater to the U. S."]

[Text] "The caretaker prime minister, the provincial chief ministers working under the guidance of the president, Benazir Bhutto, who represents a group of capitalists and feudal landlords, all three groups are in fact members of the same party. All of them are the pupils of the same teacher and that teacher is the United States. The aim of all three groups is to carry out the policies of the U. S.; hence, in our eyes they are all one and the same. At present U. S. policy toward Pakistan has three objectives: to put an end to the nuclear program; reduce Pakistan's armed strength; and end the campaign for the promulgation of Islam. These three political groups are busily trying to please the U.S. by achieving U. S.'s objectives."

"Not all moral people are members of Jamaat-i-Islami [JI]; we think that there are many individuals outside the JI whose probity, honesty, and character have earned the trust of the people and to whom the people are willing to entrust anything of value. We would like to gather these individuals on a common front and then persuade the nation to entrust to their safekeeping the affairs of the nation."

This is a summary of the proposed Front which was under discussion for the last month in JI's executive assembly and which was recently approved by that assembly. After gaining the approval of the executive assembly, the honorable Qazi Hussain Ahmad set out to seek the advice of the JI members throughout the country. His task was to familiarize people from different classes of society with the Front and meet active JI members, and he started his mission from Rawalpindi. On May 8, 1993, at the residence of Dr. Afzal Ezaz, JI's parliamentary leader in the Punjab assembly, Qazi Ahmad accompanied by Hafiz Mohammad Idris, JI's leader in Punjab province, met more than 20 delegations of lawyers, politicians, students, workers, and members of other professions. In the evening he addressed members of JI Rawalpindi division in Liaquat Bagh. In his speech Qazi Ahmad spoke of the

need for the establishment of the proposed Front, its background, and future aspirations. He said: "We were not in favor of dissolving the national assembly; before the event, we pointed out the gravity of the situation to both the president and the prime minister but they did not understand. As a result of the president's action, the country plunged into a crisis. At present there is crisis on both the domestic and foreign levels. If we lose hope at this juncture, we shall perish; therefore, we should venture forth and offer guidance to the nation in the new situation. We shall act on our new policy if elections are held on time." Referring to forces preoccupied with politics, Qazi Hussain Ahmad said, "At present there are three groups in the field of politics: 1) the caretaker prime minister and provincial chief ministers working under the guidance of the president; 2) Nawaz Sharif and his Muslim League; 3) Benazir Bhutto who represents a group of capitalists and feudal landlords. These three in fact comprise a single party; they are the students of the same teacher and their teacher is the United States. All of them want to carry out the policies of the U. S.; therefore, to us they are one and the same. In regard to Pakistan U. S. policies have 3 objectives: 1) Denuclearization, 2) Demilitarization, 3) DeIslamization. At present all three groups are striving to achieve these objectives in order to please the U. S." Referring to the performance of the former government, Qazi Hussain Ahmad said: "Under U. S. pressure Nawaz Sharif reneged on the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] manifesto. He abandoned the establishment of an Islamic system; he issued a writ in favor of charging interest, thus going against the decision of the religious court; Islami Jameat-I-Talaba was attacked in Punjab; rollers were driven over the bodies of students and they were subjected to great violence; Nawaz Sharif recently met with Hosni Mubarak, and, at U. S. bidding, adopted a policy resulting in the Peshawar operation against Arab nationals; under pretext of privatization, a plan was prepared to hand over the country's sensitive institutions to the Jews. It was as though the ground was being paved for the East India Company of the present time to gain a foothold in the country." Referring to the caretaker government, Qazi Hussain Ahmad said: "The first act of the government was to announce that the policies of the past administration would be continued. The reason for this was that those policies were in fact U. S. policies." Qazi Hussain Ahmad said, "After the decline of communism, the future struggle will be between the U. S. and Islam. Unfortunately, all Muslim rulers are in the U.S. camp. Our front against the U. S. is composed of all the followers of Mohammad of Arabia, may peace be on his name." Qazi Ahmad described the main features of this political front as follows: to raise the classes who have been left behind; to establish a uniform educational system for everyone and bring education to every doorstep; to purge loans and interest charges from economic policy; to reject bigotry and promote national unity; to refuse to abandon the nuclear program; to reject the new world order; to try to achieve unity in the Islamic

world; to continue the struggle in Afghanistan until an Islamic government is established; to maintain relations with worldwide Islamic movements and to make Pakistan the center of these movements."

Qazi Hussain Ahmad said that they trusted in God in whose power it was to bestow honor or disgrace. He said that on May 24 the formation of the Front would be formally announced in a national convention in Lahore; before that, a convention of religious scholars would be held on May 17.

Earlier, during his meetings with the various delegations, Qazi Hussain Ahmad answered questions relating to Pakistan, the Islamic world, and the proposed Front. Most of the questions were about the Front. He was asked how the Front will attract popular support in two months as the structure of the Front is quite unfamiliar to the members of JI and Pakistani citizens. Would it not have been more advisable to work more on the Front and then participate in the next elections? Qazi Ahmad replied, "Now is the most opportune time for the introduction of the Front. The fronts which were formed in the past were put together quickly and achieved the desired results. For example, there was an interval of only one or one and a half months between the start of the Khatm-I-Nubuwwat movement and the acceptance of their demands. Similarly, Pakistan Qaumi Ittehad (PNA) was formed just before the elections as was Islami Jamhoori Ittehad. Therefore, this Front also may be make a place for itself, God willing. At any rate, we are not strangers to the community but have been living and working in this society as an organized party." Another question was: "Will the religious parties be included [in the Front]?" Qazi Ahmad answered, "The Front is a union of individuals, not parties; the good and moral people in the society are being invited to join it. It is of course possible that before the elections, an alliance with another party may take place and we might support the candidates of another party for certain seats. But we will only do so if the candidate fulfills the standards of the Front."

In answer to another question, Qazi Ahmad said, "We will run as many candidates as possible for the 207 seats; 30 or 40 of the candidates will be JI members; others will be chosen from other walks of life."

In regard to the role of JI after the establishment of the Front, Qazi Ahmad said: "JI will join the Front and strive for its success."

Qazi Hussain Ahmad was questioned on other political issues and one individual asked him whether he was in favor of the dissolution of the provincial assemblies. Qazi Ahmad answered: "We think that the dissolving of the national assembly created a crisis and if provincial assemblies also are dissolved, this crisis will become more severe. We are thus not in favor of such an action."

In the Punjab assembly, some members connected with JI acted against JI's policy and voted no confidence in

Wain. In answer to a question regarding this matter, Qazi Ahmad said: "Only one member voted no confidence; even though he did not belong to JI, we took action against him and expelled him from JI's parliamentary party."

In regard to international Islamic movements, Qazi Ahmad said, "Nowadays there is talk of a militant Islam in the world. The impression is being created all over the world that the bomb explosion in New York, the activities in Egypt of al Gamaa Ara al Hijrah and al Takfir prove that Muslim movements want to bring about change through terrorism. Akwan Al Muslimoun has announced its separation from these [organizations]." Qazi Ahmad was asked about JI's view regarding these incidents. He answered: "These are a handful of young men who have fallen victim to frustration over relentless desperate conditions. We want to bring about a revolution through peaceful means and with the support of the people. When a few people resort to such acts, the constitution is easily contravened [to the detriment of Islamic movements?]; but changes which come about with popular support cannot be stopped."

The next topic raised related to the domestic situation. Someone said, "The popular support which Nawaz Sharif is enjoying now is reminiscent of the time when Ayub Khan ousted Bhutto. Have you taken this aspect of the situation into account? In 1970 as well JI thought that it would gain a substantial victory in the elections, but it ended up with only 4 seats. Is it possible that you are again over estimating your strength?" Qazi Hussain Ahmad replied: "The feeling of sympathy for Nawaz Sharif is transitory and will gradually decrease. Nevertheless, we think that it is possible to gauge the situation correctly and find out one's strength only after entering the arena; one can then plan a strategy based on the situation. However, we think that enthusiasm and a sense of purpose are the most important requirements. At the present time, the people believe that none of the existing political forces have any solution for the problems. God willing, we want to bring forward an honest leadership which will solve the problems of the people and gain their trust." People were coming in and going out and the leader of JI, a determined expression on his face, was trying to remove the doubts of the people and rouse feelings of enthusiasm among them. Only time will show how far his efforts were successful.

Liaquat Jatoi Said Aligning With Sharif

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in English 2 Jun 93 p 8

[Article by Abdul Hafeez Shaikh: "Liaquat Jatoi Saves His Own Skin"]

[Text] Liaquat Ali Jatoi, the Sindh Finance Minister who tendered his resignation recently, is so far the only politician from Sindh who has joined former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's camp. Several prominent politicians in Sindh were direct beneficiaries of

Nawaz Sharif's rule but all of them for obvious reasons are reluctant to support him.

Liaquat is politically well entrenched. His father, Abdul Hameed Jatoi, retired from politics after losing in the 1990 election from district Dadu. His younger brother, Ejaz Jatoi, is a Senator known for his anti-establishment views. Liaquat himself entered active politics in 1977 when he contested elections for a national assembly seat on a PPP [Pakistan People's Party] ticket. Since then he has made a number of influential friends in the province.

A minister in the caretaker government of Jam Sadiq Ali, Liaquat was the only candidate of the Sindh National Alliance (Hameed Jatoi group) who was returned from a Dadu seat. But he has been dogged by allegations of rigging.

Muzaffar Shah and Liaquat Jatoi, cabinet colleagues, first developed differences when Jam Sadiq Ali was lying on his death bed. Both wanted to succeed the strongman of Sindh. But the powers that he preferred Muzaffar Shah over him. He had to be content with the finance portfolio.

But Muzaffar Shah is a weak Chief Minister [CM]. He is heavily reliant on the support of small power blocks and individual members in the Sindh Assembly in order to stay in power. Liaquat's carefully cultivated relations with the Sindh Governor were a cause of irritation to the Chief Minister who perceived Liaquat as a permanent threat to his job.

Relations soured between the two to a point of no return. Muzaffar Shah transferred Liaquat's secretary and a person who he disliked was posted against his wishes. The new secretary continuously disobeyed and insulted Liaquat, who became quite ineffective in the Finance Department. Liaquat attempted to handle the situation but it became too much for him when two of his deputy secretaries were replaced by Muzaffar Shah's men.

Liaquat attempted to join the PPP but Asif Zardari and Benazir Bhutto refused him point blank. He was left with no option but to join Nawaz Sharif.

Liaquat resigned, but only after levelling serious charges of corruption against Muzaffar Shah. He alleged that a corrupt group of civil servants was running the province under the control of certain "Shaikh" officers who were in league with the CM.

Liaquat Jatoi also threatened to move the court against the CM and the corrupt bureaucrats. "I am filing a petition in the Sindh High Court against the corruption in provincial government," he said while announcing his resignation from the Shah cabinet. Many scandals are likely to come to light should he follow that course. But Muzaffar Shah is already out to 'nip him in the bud'.

The Sindh administration has been out to destroy Liaquat Jatoi in his own hometown, Dadu, ever since his resignation. All important government officials and administrators of all the municipalities in district Dadu

have either been transferred or dismissed by the government, allegedly on the verbal orders of the CM.

The administration is not even taking chances with the likes of SDMs, ADMs, and DSPs who were earlier posted on Liaquat's request. All the officers being posted in Dadu now reportedly have personal scores to settle with him. He is definitely not going to have an easy time in the coming elections.

In this situation it is highly unlikely that Liaquat can mobilise support for Nawaz Sharif in Sindh. He will be very busy taking care of his personal affairs if he wants to survive in the next elections. Moreover, Liaquat never organised or nursed any strong political group in the province. The ease with which Muzaffar forced him out of the cabinet indicates the lack of support for Liaquat among his former colleagues.

Joining Nawaz Sharif's camp looks more like a calculated move on Liaquat's part to survive in the jungle of Sindh politics. But with little experience of opposition politics, even if he manages to organise a 'Nawaz group', he may survive personally but any hopes of unseating Muzaffar Shah or changing the political scenario of the province would be unrealistic.

President Khan Seen Disgraced, Unfit for Office

93AS0937K Islamabad PULSE in English
3 Jun 93 pp 24-25

[Article by Zwitterion: "How the Mighty Have Fallen"]

[Text] No one that I know would leave anything to go running to hear Ghulam Ishaq Khan [GIK] speak. It is difficult to imagine a person more colourless, dull, and so lacking in charisma. Indeed, even the frequency and the physical extent of his smile seemed to have been most parsimoniously rationed—perhaps, not to over-indulge the undeserving, or, perhaps, to keep the balance of a most delicately poised moustache intact.

"Yet, this is about the harshest thing I can honestly say about GIK. And, quite frankly, the moment I set about comparing him with others who have occupied and defiled positions of power in Pakistan, I find him a bigger man. He rose from the level of a clerk to that of the President of Pakistan, occupying many an important office in the process. This in itself is no mean achievement.

"But where he stands as a man apart is, that despite being in the limelight so long, no camera has caught him debasing himself in a gesture of servility, which is so degrading a part of our culture, and which has traditionally substituted loyalty in our social environment. Indeed, he carried himself with refreshing grace and rare dignity—monkeying to please his bosses was conspicuously absent from the array of blandishments he may have deployed to gladden the hearts of his superiors.

"Of the countless 'leaders' that have nauseated our TV screens by their mere presence on them, I can remember only Malik Amir Mohammad Khan and Mohammad Khan Junejo, who seemed to have set any store by the dignity of carriage. All the rest seemed to have been infected by the Bhangra syndrome—gyrating like fools in front of the man holding center stage at a particular time and place.

"GIK's unhurried manner was also a physical reflection of his nerve. He was not one to decide, dither, come unstuck, remain undecided, and then crawl under his bed. It was he who informed Zia that unless he acted fast, Bhutto was about to kick him in the rump. That is what hastened Zia into deciding to save Pakistan for himself.

"And, at that stage, the future dictator, much celebrated for his nerves of steel, could only order his generals, 'OK, now, go ahead; pull it off; but remember, should anything go wrong, I am not in it!' But GIK remained firm right to the end, and of those who always wagged their tails to Zia, no one ever got so much respect from him, as he did.

"And no one probably worked more than him, or was more a master of his office, except maybe General Raja Iqbal. Zia, of course, was notorious for his indecision. Like the first Arab Sheikh who struck oil, and not trusting the banks, let the dollars pile up under his bed; Zia did the same with most of the files that came to him.

"After eleven years in office, his immediate bequest to Ghulam Ishaq Khan was more than 3,000 files which the latter had to dig out from under his bed, dust, digest, and endorse his decisions on. He did all this in just three months, and even his most avid detractors have not been able to fault him with a single palpably wrong decision. This could only be done by a person whose sole hobby was work. GIK was such a person. For a slothful people, there could hardly have been a better personal example coming from their President, than such a work ethic.

"The one charge routinely laid at GIK's doorstep was that he was far too negative. People went to the extent to say of him that at night his eyes used to shine like two horizontal dashes as a physical reflection of this negative attitude.

"The joke doing the rounds to elucidate this aspect of his personality was the splendid balance which Ziaul Haq's inner Cabinet was supposed to have maintained. 'Ziaul Haq always says 'Yes' to everything,' it was said; 'while General Arif never says a word; and Ghulam Ishaq Khan always says 'No'.'

"But this was a trifle unfair on the Old Man as he was a bureaucrat of the old school, trained to sift each case with studied wariness. Such people cannot easily be expected to start saying 'yes' merely to win the esteem of the gallery.

"What may not have been too unfair, however, was the charge that for all his piety, he was perhaps given to

hiding his head under his armpit, when one from his own family was involved in wrong-doing. But, then, who is there without a foible to show? And if the Old Man was easily stricken by a bout of shyness when faced with the truancy of his kin, might one not ignore it and proffer to him a bouquet of charity which is best proffered in such cases?"

I wrote the above lines in the past tense because they were supposed to have been a part of an obituary I tried writing for the 'late' Ghulam Ishaq Khan. I wrote them in August 1990, when news breezed through the Capital that the President had either been shot dead, or had died of a heart attack.

I was still writing when it was confirmed that there was nothing whatever wrong with him, and that he was not just alive and kicking, but that he was fully expected to keep on kicking a long while yet. I was disappointed that my effort had gone waste. I thus filed away the incomplete obituary. I thought it would come in handy another day.

Then, suddenly, one day last week it hit me that the old man had a splendid record of outliving people. I panicked. The possibility that the flame of my life would be snuffed, while his would still be dancing merrily to one insincere tune or the other, fairly rattled me. And so I am hastening to get published what I had written then. By so doing, and without having intended it, I am also immortalising Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan by making him the only man in history who will have read his own obituary!

But, unfortunately, this is not the Ghulam Ishaq of a few months ago. When I re-read what I had written about him three years ago, I thought to myself, how badly the President compromised himself, and how terribly he had slipped from popular affection and esteem in just a couple of years. So that if one were to write his obituary today, not a single word of warmth or respect would spill forth from the heart!

How has this man, in so short a time, crumbled from the stature of a colossus, to that of a very ordinary—a very shoddy mortal, like any one of us? Chop by chop, stroke by stroke, the story of the dismantling of his aura is so clearly captured by a series of events, which are so poignantly etched in the memory of those who are above party politics, and are concerned only with the future of their country—and thus so very concerned, indeed!

His popularity was at an all-time high when he booted out the PPP circus. He appeared as a Messiah to those who saw the country put on the auction block by a group of people who did not even try to pretend otherwise. But from there on, self-interest chiselled away at the hero, and he started becoming smaller—at first, imperceptibly; and then, by leaps and bounds. And now one needs a microscope just to see him. Having enjoyed so much credibility for such a long time, he is now only as convincing as Adakara Bindya in her last role as a singer.

Taking Khar in the interim government and handing Sindh over to the Jam-Ataf combine, were the first indications that whatever the motivation of the President's action in dissolving the previous National Assembly, national interest formed but a small part of it. And yet we hoped. We convinced ourselves that the Old Man had fallen back on expedience merely because circumstances had compelled him to do so, and that eventually he would do what the country most needed of him, i.e., to subject our leaders to a most thorough-going and impartial accountability, which would create a badly needed tradition, defuse the politics of confrontation, and clean up our politics.

In short, our compulsions forced us to believe that, surely, our President would do what all our earlier leaders had promised us (i.e., giving the nation a second chance), but which they sacrificed at the altar of personal interest.

But, history repeated itself once again. Indeed, most unfortunately, in the case of GIK too, it was personal interest alone that ruled his actions. But we were so used to this, and, thus, quickly adjusted our expectations to lighten our disappointment. But that was not enough, because the disappointment kept stretching itself faster than our ability to cater to it.

When his son-in-law was propelled into the position of the country's foremost law and order expert, the betting was that, surely, the grace of the man would militate against such a blatant and vulgar attempt at being propitiated. But, obviously, we now know that nothing is quite so vulgar.

The stage was eventually reached where the name 'Marwat' evoked an undisguised abhorrence and disgust among the polite, decent, and patriotic Pakistanis—but, unfortunately, this did not happen in the circles where it should have happened with the most urgent cognizance. Thus, usurped privilege became unchecked licence, and this graduated into contemptuous abuse of power.

Yet, those of us who did not want to believe that our hopes were false, chose to disregard what was happening in Karachi. We believed, instead, that the President did not know. Many, however, were further disabused of their hopes when Anwar Saifullah was crowned minister. The whole episode was so immodest and garish, that we realised for the first time that the quiet dignity of the President may be nothing more than incurable moroseness, with reticence masquerading as grace.

One thought that the last straw came in the form of the President's monastic silence, when the co-op scandal burst upon thousands of families to rob them of their lives' savings, and rendered them destitute. This added a new dimension to theft. Except for the fact that it is not yet enshrined in our Constitution, it is now taken for granted by all of us, that our chosen leaders have the right to pillage public funds.

But none had ever thought that one day this right would be extended to our private savings as well. And yet this is exactly what happened. But this time, in stark contrast to the reaction to the PPP depredations, His Excellency took counsel of silence. Where, one wondered, was the plethora of his pious, self-righteous phrases, which he used to boot out the PPP crooks? Could it be that this piety was coloured entirely by the side his in-laws were sitting on?

As the mad rush by our leaders, to divide and sell off our country, continued unabated, the President maintained his unperturbed and reprehensible silence. He could not empathise with us. He could not see our concern for our children who only have one country, and would like to have their bit of it left unsold, so that they can inherit it when they grow up. He could not see our concern probably because he is far too cosy in the knowledge that his children are smug on the other side.

And just as the people of Pakistan, too broken to do otherwise, were getting used to the co-op betrayal, a series of rapes started to be reported from Karachi. Apparently, Mr Sexy had run wild. All this was not reported in the press, but, surely, was, to the President. This only deepened his silence. And then the bubble finally burst with Sardar Shaukat Hayat's press conference, where a shattered old man and his uncontrollable tears, told the story of the gang-rape of his daughter.

The President, with whom Sardar Sahib had an association of 53 years, lives just seven minutes away. The President just could not muster the will to get through those seven minutes in the direction of Sardar Sahib's residence. Instead, he wrote him a letter. It is poetic justice that he should have consigned himself to the pit of history by his own hand, because this letter was soaking with guilt. It was the most feeble apology for a colossal sin. And then there was silence once again.

And what cruel irony there is in the fact that the Pakistan of Jinnah's dream, nightmare where his lieutenant's daughter got raped, and his party (the Muslim League), watched silently, merely because it was their side organising the outrage. This drove one to believe that none in the Muslim League, the IJI, or among the Mullahs, had a daughter of their own. If they did, their indifference would not have been so complete.

One wonders now if a new dawn will at last come and rehabilitate us. One wonders when the hell road travelled from the last Election Cell to our present hopelessness will ever come to an end.

PS: When General Von Paulus repeatedly requested Hitler's permission to surrender Stalingrad to the Russians, the latter answered him by promoting him Field Marshal. This was the Fuhrer's way of proscribing surrender. When Paulus surrendered nevertheless, Hitler said of him, "Paulus has committed an about-face at the threshold of immortality."

Thus, when the drums sounded and called Ghulam Ishaq Khan out to national duty, and he repeatedly failed to answer the call, he wrote an immortal verse in the annals of high failure. He let his motherland drift into doom, while yet retaining the eyes to see.

To the extent that history is a record of heroic deeds executed by heroic figures, Ghulam Ishaq Khan has expunged his name from its pages. By so doing, without realisation, his only positive contribution to it is that he has enhanced the purity of these pages. That he has darkened our future by the same token must be forgiven him; because he could reach out to the only excellence which was within his power, and which he so readily opted for and acquired. Each failure deserves its share of tears, but none more than this, because this one has taken with it our last realistic chance of survival.

Henceforth, every epitaph must begin with a solemn dedication to GIK, in memory of the Old Man who, alas, was too old to do what was right, and thus sacrificed our future at the altar of his conditioned infirmities.

And now he has booted out yet another set of plunderers. And these are the ones whom he had allegedly personally rigged into office. Even this should have given us hope. We were entitled to believe that at long last, the nemesis of the nation had realised and reached out for atonement, to become its savior. But if there was any realisation, it was not with him, but with us.

We realised yet again that we were eternally condemned to suffer the muchness of the sameness. All over yet again, we saw our new Cabinet decorated with the assorted crookedness of every political hue. The only real improvement in the interim arbiters of our destiny is that we find Khar missing. And that, too, because of the insistence of General Waheed.

While the symbol of the federation goes so shamelessly along, one has despaired of earthly punishment afflicting just and deserving targets. Is it possible then, that Divine retribution shall strike? Actually, it already has. What greater disgrace could befall a name than that it shall always be recalled with, and defiled by, the name Marwat? And though this is an insufficient resource to lead us out of our darkness, it does provide food for our cynics. And for beggars, this may be enough.

Opportunity for Establishing Democracy Seen Before Sharif, Bhutto

93AS0937G Karachi DAWN in English 7 Jun 93 p 7

[Article by Dr. Mohammad Waseem: "High-Risk Politics"]

[Text] Pakistan has been in the grip of high-risk politics for the last many months. This does not bode well for the future of democracy in this country. Democracy is defined by what is essentially a continuous, low-risk

politics, ultimately bound by the principle of rule by public representatives. But high-risk politics tends to destroy this principle.

The process of destabilising the Nawaz Sharif government was started by the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] by launching a Long March in November last year. It was followed by General Asif Nawaz Janjua's death and appointment of General Waheed Kakar as COAS [Chief of Army Staff], apparently against the Prime Minister's wishes. The latter sought to repeal the 8th Constitutional Amendment which gave the president powers to appoint armed services chiefs and judges of higher courts as well as to dissolve the parliament. President Ishaq reacted to the Prime Minister's move by dissolving the National Assembly which led to dismissal of the latter's government. Also, he sought to destroy Nawaz Sharif's power base in Punjab by getting his protege Wyne removed from chief minister-ship through a no-confidence motion.

Subsequently, the Supreme Court restored the National Assembly as well as the Nawaz Sharif government. The Prime Minister sought to win back its power base in Punjab by reversing the process of changing loyalties in the Punjab Assembly. Obviously, President Ishaq and his coterie of advisers were unhappy over the prospect of a pro-Nawaz Sharif government staging a comeback in Lahore. The Punjab Assembly was dissolved and a caretaker government was installed under Chief Minister Wattoo. Next day, the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] Assembly was also dissolved and Chief Minister Mir Afzal assumed the responsibilities of a caretaker government.

During the last few months, assemblies have been dissolved with uncanny alacrity. In fact, the elected government at the Centre was dismissed when it enjoyed the confidence of the National Assembly. Similarly, the elected government at Lahore was dismissed after it faced a no-confidence motion, as per the petitioner's version in the case filed in Lahore Court. The elected government in Peshawar was also dismissed when the opposition was allegedly preparing to introduce a no-confidence motion against it on the floor of the assembly. Both at the Centre and in the provinces, constitutional democracy has been violated either in letter or in spirit.

From Benazir Bhutto's Long March through Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's campaign to repeal the 8th Amendment to President Ishaq's successive moves against elected assemblies, Pakistan has passed through a period of crippling high-risk politics. Benazir Bhutto not only put her popularity at stake during her Long March but also put her credibility at risk by supporting President Ishaq's move to dissolve the National Assembly on April 18. Both the moves were rooted in the PPP's long-held grievances relating to rigging in the 1990 elections and the subsequent persecution of the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] at the hands of the IJI [Islami Jamhoori

Ittehad] government. Both rigging of polls and incarceration of some key opposition leaders can in turn be considered high-risk politics which found a volatile expression in the form of the opposition's bleeding wounds for months and years. Democracy and political stability can be restored in Pakistan only through a free and fair election and a total commitment to establish good working relations between the government and the opposition at all times. Otherwise, the opposition is constrained to opt for high-risk politics to undercut the government.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's belated move to do away with the presidential powers enshrined in the 8th Amendment was grossly lacking in solid preparation. He hardly made efforts to enlarge his support base in the two houses of parliament. He did not build his bridges with the PDA and other parties of the opposition. He never took the case for repeal of the controversial amendment to the public at large, nor to the Press and the electronic media nor indeed to intellectual and political circles in general. He took the high risk of taking on the President without preparing contingency plans to handle unforeseen circumstances. A move against the status quo would have required much more than was forthcoming from the official quarters.

After the restoration of the National Assembly and the federal government in Islamabad, Nawaz Sharif has taken to what can be considered a minimalist approach to risk-taking. A possible exception is the attempt to unseat the government of Chief Minister Manzoor Wattoo in Lahore through a no-confidence motion, which resulted in dissolution of the Punjab Assembly itself. A case can be made in favour of Nawaz Sharif's efforts to regain what was his due in terms of a support base in his home province. However, he acted in haste and failed to create a favourable political climate before making a move against heavy odds.

On the other hand, President Ishaq has made several high-risk moves during the last few months which effectively destabilised the democratic set-up in this country. He has operated as the ultimate defender of the 8th Amendment which has subjected the collective will of public representatives to the will of non-parliamentary forces. While President Ishaq knew that the PDA opposition was also committed to the repeal of the 8th Amendment, he, nevertheless, sought to avert the immediate crisis by joining hands with Benazir Bhutto and co-opt the PDA into a broad-based parliamentary coalition after he dissolved the National Assembly.

President Ishaq continued to move forward and took another risk in terms of getting the Punjab government destabilised and installing Wattoo as Chief Minister. As mentioned earlier, President Ishaq's move to get the Punjab and NWFP assemblies dissolved after the restoration of the National Assembly can only be termed high-risk as well as high-profile. The President has apparently refused to be cowed down by the moral pressure on him exerted by the courts' verdict against

his dissolution order of 18th April. Perhaps, he feels less inhibited to pursue the same path in the matter of dissolution of two provincial assemblies because at least legally he is not directly involved in it.

President Ishaq's politics is reminiscent of Iskandar Mirza's politics in the late 1950s when the latter used to make and break ruling coalitions in Karachi and various provincial capitals out of apparently hostile parties and party factions. It is generally maintained that Iskander Mirza discredited politicians and political parties in order to dispense with the democratic set-up itself in the end. All along he enjoyed the confidence of his friend and ally Gen Ayub Khan, C-in-C of the Pakistan army. President Ishaq has not only dissolved assemblies at the federal and provincial levels, but also got himself engaged in making and re-making ruling coalitions in Islamabad, Lahore and Peshawar. The result of all this is the discrediting of democracy itself.

If parliamentary politics is thus discredited in the eyes of the military-bureaucratic establishment—even if not in the eyes of the public at large—the President hopes that his position will be vindicated. If politics in Islamabad, Lahore, Peshawar or Karachi takes an ugly turn in the coming days and weeks, the President has a classic case on his hands for making a plea for interference of extra-parliamentary forces into politics. Is the President paving the way for martial law? Iskandar Mirza had a military friend carrying well-acknowledged political ambitions and a long tenure on top of the army in the person of Ayub Khan. However, President Ishaq's relations with the army chief are on a different footing. Nor is the latter a person cut out in the image of Ayub Khan. Nor indeed is the situation in and outside Pakistan in favour of martial law. But, in a country ravaged by high-risk politics, democracy is grossly lacking a stable institutional and constitutional base to counter bonapartist tendencies.

Are the two leading political forces of this country, led by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and leader of the opposition Benazir Bhutto respectively, going to allow themselves to be outsmarted by the extra-parliamentary forces once again? The parliamentary forces represented by the government and the opposition currently face the uphill task of arresting the downhill march of constitutional democracy both at the Centre and in provinces. Can the two rise above considerations based on political expediency and manage to keep political space carefully carved out for themselves to the exclusion of those outside the game? The history of Pakistan is full of examples of failure of political forces to take up such challenges. Have the political forces finally come of age? At this moment when the Supreme Court of Pakistan has changed the course of judicial history in this country, can the parliament also take political initiative back into its own hands?

PPP Workers Said Ready To Overturn Eighth Amendment

93AS0938G Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES
in English 9 Jun 93 p 9

[Article by Khalid Hussain: "PPP Workers Hate 8th Amendment More Than They Hate Nawaz Sharif"]

[Text]

[Boxed item]

The restoration of the National Assembly by the Supreme Court on May 26, 1992 put the Pakistan Peoples Party [PPP] in a tight spot. It was widely believed that PPP's all out support to the "defeated" president would have dampened the spirits of Party workers and undermined their confidence in the party leadership. TFT [THE FRIDAY TIMES] carried out an opinion poll to ascertain whether this impression was correct or not and what political strategy workers wanted PPP to adopt.

The operational definition of a PPP "worker" was formed by TFT as a person over 25 years who is a member of the party, campaigns on its behalf in a voluntary capacity for votes, attends/arranges PPP public meetings, propagates the party manifesto and may hold a zone level party office in Lahore city. The number of such workers in Lahore was estimated at 800-1200.

A total of 63 respondents were interviewed. This represents an impressive 5.25 to 7.87 per cent of PPP workers in Lahore. The number of interviews were limited to 5 from any single ward of the PPP organisation.

[end boxed item]

Peoples Party workers may not like Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif but their aversion to the Eighth Constitutional Amendment is even greater. A poll conducted by TFT found that 96.67 per cent of PPP workers in Lahore city are in favour of voting with Mr Sharif's parliamentary group should it decide to remove the Eighth Amendment from the country's constitution. However, only 4.76 per cent of these workers favour any political alliance with the Prime Minister.

As to the future strategy of the PPP, TFT found that Nawaz Sharif has no sympathisers amongst PPP workers. "How can you support a man who has no principles, no integrity, thrives on the support of vested interest groups and is pushing the country towards bankruptcy," said Arshad Raj, a founding member of the PPP and president of the PPP Workers' Front.

A slim majority, 50.80 per cent, think that PPP should stick with the joint opposition. But almost the same number of respondents, 44.44 per cent, felt that the party should play the power game alone. "We are the mass party. Others are just a bunch of self-styled leaders with insignificant vote banks," said a worker from Shahalami.

But the workers are also critical of the state of the PPP. Some 61.08 per cent feel the party needs re-organisation to get ready for elections, which they believe will be held some time later this year. "We are a loose bunch of activists with little organisation which undermines our performance" said Altaf Sukhera. Although TFT had not put this option in the poll instrument, workers themselves stressed that it should be a major point in the future strategy of the party.

The results generated by the TFT poll were quite surprising. Only 22.22 per cent workers reported a lower morale following the restoration of the National Assembly, while 61.91 per cent were optimistic. For some 15.87 per cent, the restoration had actually boosted their morale. "We had only 40 MNAs [member of National Assembly] before the whole thing started in April, Punjab was in hostile hands and the political scene was rather dull. We now have 80 MNAs with us, the Punjab Governor is a PPP-man and the whole country has been electrified by recent political developments. Our spirits are high," said Ayub Darbadar of Sanda, Lahore.

And the workers want elections to all the legislative assemblies of the country. An overwhelming majority, 80.95 per cent, said the PPP should go all out to force the government to announce early elections. Only 17.46 per cent opposed PPP pressure for fresh elections while 1.56 per cent said they were not sure what the PPP should do.

But nothing undermined their commitment to the party. Some 68.26 per cent said the party strategy in the past six weeks had not affected their commitment; 22.22 per cent felt more committed while 9.52 per cent said they were disappointed and their commitment undermined.

The sample of PPP workers interviewed by TFT included 46.03 per cent over 40 years of age, 44.44 per cent between 30 and 40 years and 9.53 per cent in the 25 to 30 age group. It included 56.67 per cent workers of over 15 years standing in the party, 29.05 per cent had been party workers for 10 to 15 years, and 14.28 per cent joined the party within the last 10 years.

Only some 6.35 per cent of the sample had incomes in excess of Rs 40,000 a year, 42.86 per cent fell in the Rs 24,000 to 40,000 income group and 50.79 per cent early only Rs 12,000 to 24,000 per annum.

Little Chance Seen for Political Reconciliation

93AS0937H Karachi DAWN in English 9 Jun 93 p 10

[Article by M.H. Askari: "Little Signs of Rapprochement"]

[Text] One does not have to be clairvoyant or some sort of a sooth-sayer to predict that the prospects for reconciliation talks between Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and the leader of the opposition, Ms Benazir Bhutto, are less than bright. Both sides have, of course,

nominated their negotiating teams but the overall ambience for the proposed talks cannot be viewed with much sense of optimism.

For one thing, both Mr Nawaz Sharif and Ms Benazir Bhutto appear to have shifted from the position which they adopted on May 31 during the special session of the National Assembly. When the Prime Minister invited the opposition (in fact, Ms Bhutto by name) for talks on important issues facing the country he was believed to be seeking a face-to-face dialogue. Subsequently, he not only nominated his team of the proposed talks with the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] but also designated representatives from among his party colleagues to talk to the other components of the opposition. It was no longer going to be an across-table dialogue between the head of the government and the leader of the opposition.

Ms Bhutto has also since then made several statements which inter alia have made it clear that nothing short of fresh general elections would be acceptable to the opposition and that in any case no dialogue could be undertaken until a clear agenda had been communicated to them. Indeed, in fairness to her, it has to be recalled that even while welcoming Mr Nawaz Sharif's offer of a dialogue for reconciliation, she had asked for general elections, setting up of a government of national consensus and the need for constitutional reforms since the present political system was not capable of "delivering the goods."

Subsequent to the National Assembly session, Ms Bhutto has persistently maintained that even though the Supreme Court had annulled the President's order dissolving Mr Nawaz Sharif's cabinet, the final judgment would have to be delivered by "the court of the people." While talking to newsmen at Islamabad airport on June 6, she maintained that she was ready for a direct dialogue with the Prime Minister but the necessary "democratic atmosphere" had to be created first. She also reportedly stated that there was a "sheer lack of trust" between the government and the opposition and that there could really be no dialogue between "a prosecutor" and "a prosecuted." Classifying the observation, she recalled that in the recent caretaker government, her party had taken no step to victimise Mr Nawaz Sharif, and the latter was now expected to reciprocate.

The latest developments do not hold out much hope for a dialogue being commenced in the foreseeable future. Neither side has (until the time of writing) suggested a tentative date, nor drawn up a possible agenda. On the other hand, members of Mr Nawaz Sharif's cabinet on Sunday in a meeting (which was variously described as a cabinet meeting and not a cabinet but a high-level meeting) demanded the impeachment of the President. In the meantime, leaders of the opposition, addressing a public rally in Lahore on Monday, reportedly stressed that "since the right of dismissing or forming governments rests with the people and not the courts, the opposition would not settle for anything short of fresh elections." Simultaneously, at the meeting of the central

executive of the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance], attended among others by Ms Benazir Bhutto, it was decided that none of the component parties of the opposition alliance would talk to the government separately. An end to the economic and political "victimisation" of the opposition and withdrawal of all pending references against the opposition leaders were also slated as the pre-conditions for the proposed dialogue.

In short, regardless of the serious crisis which faces the nation, the government and the opposition do not appear ready for reconciliation in any meaningful way. The division between them seems to be particularly marked on the question whether Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan any longer deserves to be supported or not in his conduct as the President.

Mr Nawaz Sharif cannot, in any case, be expected to have anything but bitter feelings since the President's arbitrary and unconstitutional move against him. Ms Bhutto has been consciously ambivalent in her statements. She has been trying to justify her having collaborated with Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan in the caretaker government, at the same time hoping that people would believe she was let down by him when he reneged on the question of general elections. Both Mr Nawaz Sharif and Ms Bhutto can also be decidedly less ambiguous on their statements about the Eighth Amendment if they wish to be taken on their word. However, from what they have said, they seem to have their respective reservations in the matter.

A most alarming development is the move, apparently on the part of the President, to interfere with the political situation in the provinces. In Punjab and NWFP [North-West Frontier Province], the provincial assemblies have been dissolved on the recommendation of the chief ministers, alienating the provincial administrations from the Federal government. In Punjab, an extremely ugly situation has arisen with the Rangers (who fall under the jurisdiction of the Federal government) being asked to provide security at Mr Nawaz Sharif's residence in Lahore since the regular police guard, which used to be provided by the provincial administration has now been removed.

A great deal of embarrassment has also been caused to Mr Nawaz Sharif and his supporters with the home of a former MPA [member of Provincial Assembly] being searched to locate the missing Secretary of the Punjab Assembly. Incidentally, in Karachi such searches have been a regular feature of the law-enforcement agencies' tactics for the past year or so in the general drive to locate MQM leaders suspected of having gone underground. It is generally believed that the President in his move to have the provincial assemblies dissolved has the tacit support of Ms Benazir Bhutto. She, nevertheless, feels having been let down since the Sindh Assembly continues to be constituted as it was against her persistent wish and demand.

The President's support to a section of Punjab politicians who are opposed to Mr Nawaz Sharif cannot be regarded as being in the best interests of democracy. This is, in fact, seen as a manifestation of Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan's undeclared strategy to obstruct the smooth working of the Federal cabinet.

Mr Nawaz Sharif has not to date called on the President although it has been about two weeks since the restoration of his government by the Supreme Court. There has also been no report of the President having "invited" the Prime Minister over. The gulf between the two continues to be as marked as ever.

It is to be hoped that Mr Nawaz Sharif or his supporters do not look upon the present situation as one of Punjab versus the rest. Any further hardening of the provincial or parochial sentiments in Pakistan can only work to overcoming the drift towards provincialism, the initiative has, however, to come from Punjab which constitutes more than 60 per cent of the population and has a dominant position in the army and the civil bureaucracy.

At the latest corps commanders' meeting, the army top brass is said to have reaffirmed its decision to stay clearly neutral in the continuing political crisis. Indeed, it is commonly believed that the Chief of Army Staff used his good offices to prevail upon Mr Nawaz Sharif and Ms Benazir Bhutto to work towards national reconciliation and there is every hope that he would continue to do so.

It is also to be hoped that political leadership in Pakistan would have learnt a lesson from its past experience and would not work towards the involvement of the army. However, it would only be realistic to recognise that the army would not indefinitely continue to remain indifferent towards political chaos. Circles close to the military establishment are of the view that army's involvement, if it becomes inevitable, would mean a very firm handling of the situation. The army top brass would be expected to demonstrate a firm determination to dispel the impression which, unhappily, persists in certain quarters, that they too could be swayed by provincial or parochial sentiments, like other sections of the population.

In his memoirs, retired General Gul Hasan, a former Commander-in-Chief of the Army, has made a statement which seems almost relevant to the current state of affairs in Pakistan. It actually sums up his feelings about conditions under which Bhutto came to power and the subsequent developments. Nevertheless, since a section of the intelligentsia (including political leadership) always suffers from the illusion that a takeover by the army is the ultimate answer to all our national problems, General Gul Hasan's observations deserve due attention.

One can do no better than to quote from the closing paragraph of his memoirs. He says: "Let us not make a habit of creating an environment that invites martial law and also not, as a matter of form, readily impose it. Our people deserve a break. The nation has been assiduously fed a diet of concentrated lies, has been blinded by a

shroud of deceit, and soothed by an enriched salve of bribery and corruption, so much so that I can no longer distinguish between right and wrong." General Gul Hasan is a war-tested professional soldier and not an abstract philosopher. His words merit more than passing attention.

Jl's New Islamic Front Called 'Populist' Attempt

93AS0938H Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English
9 Jun 93 p 9

[Article by Aqeel Abbas: "Qazi Hussain Ahmed's Shortcut to the Islamic Revolution"]

[Text] Jamaat-e-Islami's [JI] "populist" leader, Qazi Hussain Ahmed, is trying once again to broaden the base of his party. At a convention in Lahore on May 24, the Jamaat Amir floated a new Islamic political alliance, the Pakistan Islamic Front [PIF]. More than 5,000 people, the bulk of whom do not belong to the Jamaat, attended the convention and elected Qazi Sahib president.

The Jamaat Amir has made attempts in the past to widen the JI's popular base. He tried to amend the party's conditions of membership, and failed. To by-pass the membership problem he launched 'Pasban' last year, a "social issues wing" which has been a successful venture so far. The PIF is another attempt by Qazi Sahib to by-pass membership rules and bring 'religious-minded' people together under a fundamentalist manifesto.

"There are a large number of religious-minded and honest people who are potential allies of the Jamaat, but who cannot formally join it due to membership conditions," says a senior member of the Jamaat. Another "problem" the JI faces is that any new entrant, no matter how influential, has to go through the same rigorous training and conditions to become a member. "In the newly-formed PIF, every citizen can become a member and new members will be placed in the organisation according to their calibre," says Amirul Azim, JI's secretary information.

A number of retired generals, ex-army officers, ulema from various sects, local leaders from villages and representatives of the business community participated in the convention. There were at least 18 retired generals and Air Force chiefs, including Major General (Retd) Tajammul Husain Malik, Major General (Retd) Zulfikar Ali Khan, Air Marshal (Retd) Ayaz Ahmed Khan, Vice-Admiral (Retd) Muzaffar Husain Shah and Rear Admiral (Retd) M.I. Rashid, etc.

The main religious figures to participate in the PIF convention belonged to the Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam [JUI] and the Jamiat Ahle Hadith. They were: Qazi Abdul Latif, a major figure of the Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam, Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Qadri, Allama Husain Ahmed Awan, President Jamiat Ulema-i-Ahle Sunnat Pakistan, Maulana Zubair Ahmed Zaheer, Jamaat Ahle Hadith Pakistan, etc. JUI and Ahle Hadith leaders have strongly objected to the participation of their workers at the

convention and have accused the Jamaat of engineering divisions in other religious parties. Maulana Sajid Mir of Jamiat Ahle Hadith and Maulana Fazlur Rehman of the JUI have strongly criticised the Jamaat for taking their members into its fold. However, none of those who attended have any electoral strength.

A unanimous resolution was adopted at the convention. It condemned the dissolution of assemblies, criticised the Sharif government's policies, blamed the US for conspiring to create instability in Pakistan, criticised the People's Party for raising the slogan of liberal Islam to 'please the west and America', and alluded to 'India-Israel joint conspiracies against Pakistan'.

The Jamaat leaders say that the nucleus of the PIF will be the Jamaat itself, and Jamaat's organisation and overall culture will keep the Front in line with the objectives of its parent body. Conservatives in the JI, however, have strong reservations about the newly-formed Front. Many of the old guard, including Mian Tufail, did not participate in the convention. They feel that the inclusion of every "Tom, Dick and Harry" in the Front will lead to an indisciplined party.

"If a person wins from the PIF platform, what is the guarantee that he will not defect, like the members of other parties," asks a senior Jamaat member. He thinks that those who will join the PIF will not be as loyal to the Jamaat as JI members themselves. Another fear among the old guard is that these new entrants may have un-Islamic habits. The JI, which places a strong emphasis on the Islamic character of its members, will then have to answer for the misdeeds of PIF members.

There will be no harmony among PIF leaders, say dissenters, since they will not have passed through party discipline and ideological training. "There is no shortcut to the Islamic revolution," says one detractor. "Qazi Sahib is looking for short-cuts, something that Maulana Maudoodi condemned." He thinks the only way to bring about an Islamic revolution is to create a group of 'believers and people with Islamic character'.

The Jamaat's leadership, however, has its own logic. Amirul Azeem argues that if the Jamaat can make alliances with political parties and help them come to power, why shouldn't it gather influential religious-minded people under a platform of its own. "The Jamaat will remain in tact and keep doing its work," he says.

Ever since he became Amir JI, Qazi Hussain Ahmed has tried to transform the Jamaat from a pressure group into a popular political force. The former Amir Mian Tufail Muhammad and a senior member Maulana Naeem Ahmed have tried in the past to lead a rebellion against Qazi Sahib's policies but couldn't prevent him from being elected Amir again last year. They have, however, succeeded in foiling attempts to amend the conditions of membership of the party.

"The weakness of the Jamaat lies in its strength," says a party worker. Due to its strict membership conditions,

the JI has only 8,000 "members," while the Jamaat claims to have more than 300,000 "workers" all over the country. Whether the PIF will boost Jamaat's strength remains to be seen.

Sharif Said Pursuing 'Game-Plan To Become All-Powerful'

93AS0938A Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English
16 Jun 93 p 1

[Editorial: "Hoping Against Hope"]

[Text] Hope springs eternal, even if it is reluctantly nudged by army chief Gen Abdul Waheed. On 31st May, the COAS [Chief of Army Staff] urged the President and the PM to resolve the dead-lock which is splitting the nation apart.

Subsequently, much ink was spilt by the press lauding Mr Sharif's "reconciliation" speech on May 31st. Ms Bhutto's spontaneous response was also widely appreciated. Both went on to exchange "Eid Greetings."

Alas, life is back to normal. Mr Sharif's cabinet colleagues, some of whom are pathological PPP [Pakistan People's Party] haters, have announced there cannot be any negotiation on the opposition's central demand for early general elections under an independent Election Commission. The other side has accused the government of trying to divide the opposition by establishing ten reconciliation committees rather than one. Nawabzada Nasrullah has called on President Ishaq to dissolve the national assembly afresh and order new elections. On June 6th, the PM and his cabinet formally retracted and once again put the impeachment of the President on their agenda. The same evening, a bevy of opposition leaders, including Ms Bhutto's high command, laid into Mr Sharif at a public rally in Lahore. On June 7th, Mr Shahbaz Sharif confirmed that Ms Bhutto's demand for fresh elections was not negotiable. So we are back to Square One.

Mr Sharif's refusal to enter into meaningful negotiations with the opposition is based on a simple game-plan to become all-powerful. He is hoping that the LHC judges view Mr Pervez Elahi's petition with the same sympathy with which the judges of the Supreme Court discerned Mr Sharif's plea last month. If the Punjab assembly is restored, Mr Sharif will have the dominant province of Punjab in his grasp. Then he will concentrate on consolidating his majority in the national assembly. By mid-July, after the by-elections to 13 NA [National Assembly] seats have been held in Sindh, Mr Sharif's alliance with Mr Altaf Hussain's MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] will enlarge his base in the National Assembly. He can then bide time till October when Mr Ishaq Khan will be ousted and a pliant Sharif-man elected as President. Thereafter, the PM will also have the power to control key appointments in the armed forces and the judiciary. If the opposition objects to all this, he can tell it to go to hell.

President Ishaq, Ms Bhutto and the other opposition leaders believe that if Mr Sharif has his way they can forget about free and fair elections for a long, long time. That's why, even though he may not be a Presidential candidate any more next October, President Ishaq is determined to redeem his role in the rigged 1990 elections and give the country a genuinely fresh start.

So we may expect things to get worse before they get any better. If the Punjab assembly is restored, the President could impose Governor's rule in the province, dissolve local bodies and persuade the CMs [chief ministers] of Sindh and Balochistan to follow suit. The opposition could also give Mr Sharif a hard time over the budget next week. From there, it is a short step to imposing an Emergency in the country and/or dissolving the national assembly afresh. All said and done, a most disagreeable scenario.

Some people hold President Ishaq responsible for the current state of affairs. This is wrong. He is certainly the villain of the piece for allowing Mr Sharif and Gen Aslam Beg to destabilize Ms Bhutto and oust her in 1990. He also bears responsibility for the rigged elections of 1990. And he was the driving force in hoisting Jam Sadiq on Sindh and hounding her party to distraction. But, by all accounts, despite Mr Sharif's provocations after the demise of Gen Asif Nawaz Nawaz last January, the President was in no mood to send parliament packing last April. That is, until Mr Sharif created a deadlock by attacking him on television.

Mr Sharif's desperate hurry to capture Punjab by hook or by crook merely two days after the Supreme Court's [SC] decision sent this message to the President and the opposition: "I will not stop at anything to oust the President, amend the constitution, cripple the opposition and become all-powerful." By so doing, Mr Sharif has openly spurned the SC's assumption in restoring him to power that there is no deadlock between the PM and the President and that the two of them can, indeed should, work together. This is borne out by the fact that Mr Sharif has not made any effort to meet the President and bury the hatchet. Indeed, despite the urgings of the COAS, the PM is still talking about impeaching the President. Under the circumstances, Mr Sharif is clearly responsible for the political polarisation afflicting the country.

Mr Sharif should hold free and fair elections as soon as possible. Failing that, we fear that Gen Abdul Waheed's "neutrality" may be severely strained in the weeks to come and Mr Nawaz Sharif could end up as the biggest loser in the pack. That's why he should put his popularity to the test and bury the ghost of 1990 for all times to come.

Political Shannanigans in Sindh Reviewed

93AS0938B Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English
16 Jun 93 p 4

[Article by Mohammad Mirza: "First President Ishaq, Now Irfanullah Marwat"]

[Text] A secret meeting between Asif Ali Zardari, MNA [member of National Assembly], and husband of the former PM Benazir Bhutto, and Irfanullah Marwat, Adviser to the Sindh Chief Minister and the President's most notorious son-in-law, led to the motion for a vote of no confidence against Chief Minister Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah last week. "If Ishaq and Benazir can meet, why can't Asif and Marwat," commented one PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] member, who then went on to deny knowledge of any such a meeting.

According to a highly placed source in the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], the motion was intended as a warning to the CM [chief minister] from the President's lobby in Sindh, with the co-operation of the PPP. The President was reportedly annoyed by the Chief Minister's statements that PM Nawaz Sharif would be given full protocol if the latter decided to visit Sindh.

Although PPP leaders and Bilawal House have officially denied that any such meeting took place, TFT's [THE FRIDAY TIMES] source confirmed that Nisar Khuhro, deputy leader of the opposition in the Sindh Assembly, arranged the parleys. When the motion was moved, PPP central leaders including Ms Benazir Bhutto were in the meeting at Islamabad. After this meeting, the opposition tabled the motion with 37 signatures. The notice was withdrawn within 24 hours.

The move came as a surprise to PPP central leaders and to the Chief Minister. After meeting with his close aides, Muzaffar Shah decided to continue support for President Ishaq.

The PPP has given no official statement on why the notice was served and under what circumstances it was withdrawn. According to one PPP circle, the message from Islamabad was misunderstood by the leader of the opposition in the Sindh Assembly, Syed Qaim Ali Shah, and instead of requisitioning the PA [Provincial Assembly] he moved a no confidence motion.

Qaim Ali Shah denies this version of events. "We moved the motion because we believed that Muzaffar Shah did not enjoy the confidence of the House. But we withdrew it due to political considerations," he told newsmen.

Another local leader of the PPP confessed that the notice was withdrawn after the opposition failed to win over PPP dissidents and MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] (Haqiqi).

Government circles endorsed this view and claimed that about 60 MPAs [members of provincial assemblies] attended the parliamentary group meeting at the Chief

Minister house a day after the notice was served. However, they neither provided the names of those MPAs nor was the meeting shown on PTV [Pakistan Television] news bulletins.

Whatever the PPP's motives, the entire exercise caused more than a little embarrassment amongst Party supporters. According to a central leader, however, "the initial objective was achieved."

The President's lobby in the ruling coalition also confirmed that the CM's position could become highly controversial if he decided to switch his loyalty from the President to the Premier. "If the CM was to give PM Nawaz Sharif full protocol, the coalition could easily fall apart," warned an MPA from Shah's camp.

Sources maintained that following the no-confidence motion, the Chief Minister decided to inform the Prime Minister's secretariat that Mr Sharif would not be entertained if he came to Sindh. Mr Sharif was about to visit Larkana and other areas of interior Sindh in connection with his programme of distributing land among the haris.

The Sindh government, for the first time, objected to the land distribution scheme saying that it amounted to federal government interference in provincial matters. The same Chief Minister had earlier described the Prime Minister's programme as "historic."

Sindh's political scenario changed dramatically after the dissolution of the National Assembly [NA] on April 18. As expected Nawaz Sharif is reviewing his thinking about the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (Altaf) and an alliance between the PML [Pakistan Muslim League], the ANP [Awami National Party] and the MQM is in the offing. However, the question is whether Mr Sharif will be able to convince the Army establishment about his new partners. Will Altaf Hussain, Dr Imran Farooq, Saleem Shahzad, Safdar Baqri and the hardline MQM cadre be acceptable to the Army?

MQM (Altaf) has very few options and it has decided to take a gamble by siding with Nawaz Sharif instead of its old ally, President Ishaq. Interestingly, the MQM had initially welcomed the dissolution of the Assembly.

The MQM will take part in the forthcoming bye-elections scheduled to be held on June 7 on 13 NA seats from Karachi, Hyderabad and Mirpurkhas. These seats fell vacant as a result of the en bloc resignations of MQM legislators in June last year.

Nawaz Sharif needs these seats for his plan to amend the Constitution and possibly move to impeach the President. He also wants support from Sindh MNAs during the Presidential election. But MQM candidates may have a hard time in the coming bye-elections as the Sindh Administration will be pitted against them.

There is no doubt that the MQM is still the most organised political force in urban Sindh and could win the maximum number of seats in the polls. Should it

make a comeback in mainstream politics, the Chief Minister may be left with no option but to accept the PDA's terms and step down. But for the time being, Muzaffar Shah, like his counterpart in Punjab, will be asked to confine the Premier to Lahore or Islamabad.

Customs Officials Reportedly Conspire To Drop Drug Case

BK2207115593 Islamabad THE NEWS in English
22 Jul 93 pp 1, 10

[Excerpts] Karachi—In an incredible move, rarely heard before in the history of the country, top Customs Intelligence and Investigation officials hatched an alleged conspiracy late last month to withdraw a massive drug case against Haji Mohammad Khan Afridi, an MNA [Member of National Assembly] from the tribal great of the NWFP [Northwest Frontier Province]. All western and Pakistan drug agencies considered Afridi one of the most active drug barons from Pakistan. Courts in Karachi have already declared him to be an absconder in two major drug cases.

According to the documents obtained by the News Intelligence Unit (NIU) top officials of the Customs [Intelligence and Investigation] branch citing "a decision by the federal government" had moved an application in the court of Special Judge Customs, Karachi on July 12, regretting the withdrawal of MNA Haji Ayab Afridi's name in a 1705 metric tons hashish smuggling case. Afridi is an absconder in the case since mid-1988. This request was, however, immediately turned down by the Special Judge Customs citing serious legal flaws. [passage omitted]

Most remarkable document obtained by the NIU is an affidavit with the customs application to the court from Director Syed Ali Rizvi. Rizvi, on solemn affirmation, stated: "That I am Director of Customs Intelligence and my office submitted a chalan [warrant] against accused Ayub Afridi and others, two co-accused have been convicted and the said accused remained absconder." [passage omitted]

The top customs intelligence officials are tight lipped about the person in the government who allegedly requested them to initiate bizarre legal proceedings to withdraw cases against the drug baron. Senior customs sources, however, felt that even moderately honest customs officials have flatly turned down such a bizarre request from any member of the government. These sources felt that the unprecedented legal moves to get Afridi 'off the hook' seemed to be a part of a deal shared equally by important members of the government and the top custom officials.

"At the same time it is highly improbable for such seasoned Customs officials to cite government decisions in black and white, for the withdrawal of case against a known drug baron. There must have been a word from the government and the rest was done by the customs officials one of whom went to the extent of submitting an

affidavit in the court of law," according to a Customs Intelligence official who had investigated the case against Afridi.

Sources said that because he has tremendous contacts in national politics, Haji Ayub Afridi was desperate to get his name removed from the Karachi drug cases. Despite well known (?laws) aimed at preventing criminals from participating in the elections, Haji Ayub Afridi had participated and won the national assembly election from the (?FAIA) in the 1990 elections.

He was a prominent member of Nawaz Sharif's electoral alliance in the NWFP and since 1990 had played host to the former prime minister more than once. Afridi changed sides in April this year when he shifted his loyalties from the prime minister to the president. Although he was an absconder in two major drug cases, doors sprung open for him at the [word indistinct] on March 29 when Afridi along with several other members of (?FAIA) held a ninety-minute long meeting with the then President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. [passage omitted]

Western press reports have cited Afridi as being one of the richest Pakistanis and his Rs [rupees] 220 million house in the Khyber [word indistinct] is the subject of several documentaries and investigative stories. The recent episode in which top custom officials made an attempt to remove Afridi's name from the official list of drug barons once again [word indistinct] the growing influence of drug traffickers on anti-narcotic agencies in particular and on the government of Pakistan in general.

Official Stresses Internal Stability in Kashmir Crisis

BK2307125593 Islamabad THE NATION in English
23 Jul 93 p 12

[All quote marks as published]

[Text] Islamabad—The morale of the Kashmiris in high and all they need to win the battle with India is stability in Pakistan and Azad Jammu Kashmir. This was observed by retired ISI [Inter-Services Intelligence] Chief Hamid Gul while speaking on Pakistan's internal security and its correlation with our national strategic concerns at the Institute of Policy Studies have Thursday [sentence as published]. He warned that if the Pakistanis pursue a nonchalant policy towards the Kashmir issue, the Kashmiris after achieving their success may not opt to accede to Pakistan. Hamid Gul warned that the Israeli-Indian collusion was a serious threat to the region and the Pakistani government should go nuclear and help in the resurgence of the Islamic forces. He also assured that the U.S. government will never be able to label Pakistan as a terrorist state.

The visit of the Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Press with an entourage of senior Israeli generals and the subsequent visit of the Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao to the Central Asian States he said, indicated the evil Indian Jewish collusion to [words indistinct].

The nuclear option he said is a good guarantee against Indian aggression. "From 1947 to 1971 we had three wars but now when the reasons of having a war have increased more than what they used to be in the past we have not witnessed a single outbreak since Pakistan is perceived to possess a nuclear bomb. The nuclear deterrent he said had ensured peace in Europe and will do so in the Subcontinent too.

The Kashmiri struggle he said has incapacitated the Indian army and have diffused all possibility of a meaningful offensive against Pakistan. "As long as the 500,000 Indian soldiers remain locked up in a battle with the Kashmiri Mojahedin, Pakistan will never witness any meaningful offensive from the Indian side. Despite the high morale and the resilience of the Kashmiris the [words indistinct] stamina of the people which is thinning out might erode some of their morale and retard the struggle. To boost up the economic stamina of the Kashmiri people he suggested to the government of Pakistan to allocate a sum of \$100 million annually. If the government could provide this paltry sum then it would be impossible for the Indians to crush the movement or continue to retain the level of military activity in Kashmir.

The general said Pakistan was located in a region of conflict and it is absolutely incorrect to think that we are vying for having influence in the Central Asian States. On the other hand the Indians are trying to do so and consider the Indian Ocean as their private lake. The abundant natural resources in the Central Asian States and its demand by different powers in Europe and Asia will give rise to some sort of instability in the region, he said.

The Indians he said are desperate to have their tentacles spread in the Central Asian States and are trying to do so with the help of Israeli government which he said is helping it by blackmailing the Americans.

[Words indistinct] technology is a serious threat and Pakistanis are not equipped to counter electronic espionage. The Indian army he revealed was using satellite information for locating Mojahedin in the Valley. He regretted that it is state's inability of the state [as published] to effectively deal with the massive terrorist activity which was unleashed during the Afghan war against the people of Pakistan by Russia.

Hamid Gul stressed the need to improve the political situation which has been halted by army's intervention. Internal political stability he said was essential to establishing and ensuring all other securities.

The financial and inflationary pressure has affected the functioning of the army. With ten percent less available for defence due to inflation the combat effectiveness of the army has suffered.

Editorial Reiterates Nuclear Policy Unchanged
BK3007130293 Islamabad THE PAKISTAN TIMES
in English 30 Jul 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Pakistan's Nuclear Policy Unchanged"]

[Text] Talking to newsmen at the weekly briefing in Islamabad, a Foreign Office spokesman denied that the Pakistan had tested a nuclear device in 1987. He said that story carried by an international news agency about an interview given to an Urdu daily of London by the former Chief of Army Staff, Gen. Aslam Beg, had been distorted. He added that the General himself had refuted the report saying that he was misquoted. The spokesman further stated that, in his opinion, there was no such thing as a 'cold laboratory test' and the paper had wrongly attributed the statement to him. Ever willing to conclude a regional nuclear test ban treaty with India, Pakistan had again floated the proposal recently but it was rejected by India through Press statements about a week ago.

It is universally known that Pakistan has refrained from carrying out any nuclear test and has always been ready to conclude a regional nuclear test ban agreement. Such a proposal was first conveyed to New Delhi as far back as in 1987 but it evoked a negative response. Later, another proposal to achieve nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia through a five-nation conference was also rejected

by India. Pakistan has repeatedly expressed its willingness to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) provided India signs it simultaneously. This is what India has refused to do persistently. It had earlier offered the excuse that since it faced a threat from China, a nuclear power, it was not in a position to sign the NPT. But since China has already signed the NPT, India has no further excuse to offer. On the contrary, it has geared up its nuclear programme and now poses a threat to nuclear non-proliferation in the region. Confirmed reports indicate that it possesses vast stocks of unsafeguarded plutonium which gives it the capability of manufacturing 200 atom bombs. In fact, it had already crossed the nuclear threshold prescribed in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty by exploding a nuclear device in 1974. It is now testing missiles which have the capability of carrying nuclear warheads. This shows that India has hegemonistic designs and nurtures the ambition of becoming a superpower in the region. On its part, Pakistan is pursuing a nuclear programme only for the purpose of processing nuclear energy for its needs. It is not Pakistan's but India's nuclear programme which needs to be rolled back for the peace and security of the region. The world community must take serious notice of the inconsistent and belligerent stance adopted by New Delhi on the nuclear issue and put pressure on it to see reason. India must not be allowed to defy world opinion and go against the worldwide trend towards disarmament—both nuclear and conventional.

'Substantial Numbers' Leaving for Work in Libya

93AS0935D Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER
in English 20 May 93 p 16

[Text] Islamabad, May 19—The Overseas Employment Corporation (OEC) has started processing employment visas for Libya and the first batch of 50 persons from Pakistan will be leaving here for Libya within two weeks.

According to the Managing Director OEC, Fayazur Rehman two delegations from Libya are currently interviewing to select appropriate candidates for employment in the brotherly Muslim country.

He further informed that the Libyan Government is considering providing employment to the people of brotherly country of Pakistan in substantial numbers on the best possible terms.

Fayazur Rahman said the OEC is expected to process substantial number of employment visas through the courtesy of Peoples Bureau Libya Islamabad in the coming days. PPI

Increased Trade Within OIC Advocated

93AS0935G Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER
in English 20 May 93 p 2

[Editorial: "Trade Within OIC"]

[Text] The Islamic Development Bank Jeddah, in a critical study on the evolution of the trade pattern of its 45 member-countries which are also the members of the Organisation of Islamic Conference [OIC], has pinpointed the weaknesses in the macro-economic structures of these countries. The study's findings, it may be emphasised, can be used by both the Islamic Development Bank as also by the OIC Secretariat to further make indepth investigations to chart out appropriate strategies for bringing about cohesion and complementarity in the economic planning of these countries so that the directions of trade could be increasingly intertwined among these countries and the goal of achieving unison in the development of trade and capital investment be achieved in the long run. The Islamic Development Bank's financing of imports and exports between the member countries is undoubtedly a significant effort in this direction. However, the scope for the expansion of this mode of financing is virtually limitless. In view of this, the capital base of the Islamic Bank would have to be increased sufficiently.

The empirical data synthesised in the study by the Islamic Bank indicates, that of the total world exports and imports of the Islamic countries in 1991 only 9.3 per cent of exports and 8.8 per cent of their imports reflected intra Islamic countries trade. Of these countries, 18 are oil exporting countries and most of the remaining nations are exporters of raw materials, primary and semi-processed goods. This pattern of the export potential of these countries shows that they have not been able to develop adequate capacity in the manufacturing

sector including the manufacture of machinery and transport equipment to cater to the demand for manufactured goods and electrical and mechanical machinery items, from member Islamic countries. Re-export of manufactured goods and machinery from the free port countries of the Middle East is noted as a prominent feature which can be further expanded within the framework of intra-regional trade.

Thus, if seen in the light of the under-developed nature of the economies of these countries in the context of industrialisation, a process of growth towards a greater and expanded linkage of trade flows between these countries, is likely to take a fairly long term to materialise, even though quite a good number of Islamic countries are rich in capital resources. This fact explains the perceptible lack of progress in the aims and objectives of the regional organisations like the Economic Cooperation Organisation. Nevertheless, a dynamic pursuit towards closer trade ties between these countries would have to be blended with acceleration in the pace of industrialisation through procurement of modern technologies and know-how from the leading multinational companies of the world.

The thrust on liberalisation of macro-economic framework through market orientation, privatization and greater participation of both foreign and domestic private investors, as emphasised in the Islamic Bank's study, is undoubtedly the right answer to the problems of development efforts facing the Islamic countries. A beginning should be made in the policy approach of these countries in the context of developing intra-regional trade flows and economic cooperation. The first step should be a drastic streamlining of the tariff structures of each country with a view to promoting preferential trade flows within the region.

An important area of cooperation between the Islamic countries as pinpointed in the Islamic Bank's study is the development of agriculture which has suffered from neglect, though a conscious step-up of efforts may prove rewarding even in the short run. The Islamic Bank has rightly showed concern that quite a number of Islamic countries depend, to a considerable extent, on imports of food from outside the group of Islamic countries. It has been pointed out that out of 30 countries included in the data of their foreign trade, only seven countries had less than 15 per cent of food imports in their total import bills while quite a number of them had food imports to the extent of as much as 30 per cent of their total imports. This brings into focus an area of grave concern. The distortion negates the aim of 'food security' which is to be achieved by the Islamic world in keeping with the declaration at the Sixth OIC summit that the decade of 1990s should be designated as the period for achieving food security in the Islamic world. A sincere effort with a collective approach is what is needed to realise the crucial objective of food security. One of the glaring examples of famine conditions of grave dimensions which have stirred the conscience of the world are

Somalia and Sudan. Members of the Islamic Development Bank and OIC, have been unable to finance their food imports and consequently there is heavy dependence on food aid from the Western world.

Textile Sector Seen Suffering

93AS0935E Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER
in English 24 May 93 p 2

[Editorial: "The Mess in Textile Sector"]

[Text] The cotton and textile scenario which serves as the backbone of Pakistan's economy continues to be rent with echoes of disturbing magnitudes. The major setback is underlined by the sharp drop in the production of cotton to about 8.9 million bales from the preceding year's 13 million bales. This has led to a reduction export earnings from cotton and prospects of drain on foreign exchange due to cotton imports. Further more high prices of cotton in the local market have added to escalation in cost of production of textile mills. On the other hand, the textile industry stands sharply divided on the question as to what should be an appropriate policy approach of the government in matters of providing incentives to cotton yarn producing sector and to industries engaged in producing higher-value textile products. These two important components of the textile industry continue to hurl blame at each other. The third factor, no less disturbing is the reported institution of investigations by countries importing textiles and cotton yarn from Pakistan. These investigations were reportedly designed to stop or restrain imports of cotton yarn and textile goods from Pakistan as it was complained, they were based at dumping prices in the case of cotton yarn. The U.S. complaint focused on alleged circumvention of quota limits by Pakistani exporters of pillow cases and bedsheets. Some of these complaints as reports indicate were not substantiated by relevant facts and documents by the U.S. authorities.

These developments cannot but be seen with grave concern and therefore deserve prompt attention of the government. Bureaucratic actions to bring about certain changes such as in duty drawback rates can hardly do the needful. It is the basic policy approach at higher government level that must be given serious consideration. The recent policy decisions by the ECC under the caretaker government bringing about sharp reduction in the rate of excise duty on cotton and in import duty rates on polyester fibre and filament yarn, have not seemingly provided a fully satisfactory answer to the problems faced by the cotton and textile sectors.

Contrary to earlier expectations, the reduction in excise duty has not brought any relief to the yarn-consuming ancillary industries. The prices of yarn, instead, are reported to have risen by Rs. 5 per bundle. While yarn prices in the local market have hardened, the export of yarn continues at cheaper prices with the result, that as pointed out in a statement by Towel Manufacturers Association, the export capability or competitiveness of

higher value-added products, manufactured locally, is being crippled vis-a-vis the manufacturers of similar products in other countries based on Pakistani imported yarn. The situation appears to be similar to an earlier one when the APTMA [All Pakistan Textile Mills Association] complained of cheaper-priced cotton exports to competing spinning industry in other countries. The recent spate of investigations by Australia, Japan and other countries alleging Pakistani yarn exports at dumping prices, appears to have corroborated the domestic textile ancillary industry's complaints that Pakistani yarn is being exported at throw-away prices.

If seen in this context, the oft-repeated official emphasis on encouraging export of higher value-added textiles is negated by the continued tilt in favour of yarn exports, with the result that the country is stuck up in the vicious circle providing for preponderance of the export of raw material (raw cotton) and semi-processed products (cotton yarn). A break-through from this strait-jacket in the cotton textile economy of the country deserves serious attention to encourage the higher value-added textile products manufacturing sections to expand vigorously and compete with greater measure of dynamism on the export front. There is hardly any economic wisdom to overlook growth potential and prospects of ancillary textiles industry which can earn at least ten times the amount of foreign exchange through export of goods out of a pound of cotton yarn as compared to the export of similar quantity of cotton yarn. The question deserves an indepth expert study by the Planning Commission and other relevant official agencies with a view to drastically reorientating the cotton textile policy so that optimum economic benefit could be realised from Pakistan's valuable raw material—the silver fibre.

Further, reports indicating increasing shift by farmers from cotton to sugarcane cultivation as a sequel to the prevailing scare of pest and virus threat to raw cotton in the wake of the adverse effects of floods, appear to be equally disturbing. The implications of an expected onset of decline in cotton production will be highly damaging on Pakistan's economy. The government quarters do not seem to have so far taken a serious note of the above trend.

Internal Tourism Favored Over Western Tourists

93AS0935F Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER
in English 24 May 93 p 2

[Editorial: "Tourism Expansion: The Other Facet"]

[Text] The Senate standing committee on culture and tourism has stressed the need for practical steps to exploit the country's tourism potential. Perhaps the most laudable among the suggestions is the association of public representatives from various spheres of activity in the formulation of policies as this would make a constructive departure from the strait-jacketed, stereotyped approach towards the endeavour that currently exists. The more varied the complexion of fields involved in the

formulation of policies, the more the viewpoints and constructive suggestions that may be incorporated into the formulation. Right now the scope of exploitation of tourism potential is rather constricted. Those planning tourism are obsessed with the sole objective of accumulation of touro-dollar and in this regard they seem to just conjure up the image of a Euro-American tourist with a brief case full of dollars rambling through our scenic spots and dishing out dollars at whim. Our planners are utterly oblivious to the dangers inherent in allowing a free flow of foreigners into the country. The smuggling of priceless antiques and curios from our museums by these "dollar machines" is no secret. The baring of our lush mountain slopes up north by tourists who, preying upon the poverty of the masses, negotiate purchase of timber, thus denuding our scenic areas, is something that one would surely observe on a fact-finding trip up north.

Socially and culturally too, the unbridled inflow of foreigners is not without its disadvantages, even though it may bring in lots of foreign exchange. Let us not forget the case of the American tourist Samuel Sloane who after a six-month stay in Hunza managed to entice a simple local belle, took her to New York, and once he had satiated his base instincts, booted the poor girl out and she was left to fend for herself in a totally alien set-up. It is not an uncommon sight in places like Hunza or any of the other tourist centres whereby one sees totally bohemian Western tourists openly indulging in lecherous public display of affection, something that is utterly revolting to the cultural and religious values of the locals. This obsession with just the foreigners while planning our tourism expansion policies is a short-cut to cultural pollution. Western tourists frantically stacking their bags with amethysts and garnets which are found in abundance in Hunza is another common sight. It is a tragic irony that while foreigners have a field day carrying away our mineral wealth, our successive governments have never bothered to put it to lucrative use.

Ecologically too, over-whelmingly preference to foreign tourists is not without its negative facets. All across our mountainous regions one sees mass deforestation going on to make room for posh hotels and other tourism infrastructure that could cater to the needs of the foreign tourist. It is painful to see the disappearance of hundreds of conifers at Bhurban, near Murree to make room for a five-star hotel that will be totally out of the reach of local tourists mainly because of the tariffs but also because of the terribly slavish attitude whereby we tend to be overly hospitable to outsiders, displaying utter scorn for our own people. Now, one hoteliering tycoon may have reaped a bonanza through this five-star hotel but it has cost the country dearly. Those pines are not going to be restored. This random deforestation is the main culprit in the abrupt increase in the frequency of flash floods that we have witnessed over the past decade. Besides, it has brought about a general rise in the average temperatures so that the once cool and balmy hill resorts are turning sultry.

On the other hand, how many of the Karachiites have ever had the chance of viewing a towering snow-clad peak? How many dwellers of the southern half of the country have ever had a chance to learn about the cultures, languages, or values of their diverse compatriots up north? They are totally alien to, and alienated from, each other, because there is no travel or tourism within the country. How many dwellers of the north, for example, have seen the beauty of a tranquil emerald sea in winter time? Hardly any. As a result, megacities like Karachi, home to all linguistic and ethnic groups turn into festering cauldrons of hate and frenzy because these groups hitherto have had no exposure to one another, no interaction. They just cannot understand each other, given the gaping cultural, linguistic, and other differences. Hence what you get as the end-result is hostility.

As such, tourism is not only a dollar-minting machine but is also an ideal vehicle for promoting national integration and cohesion, especially in a country like ours that is characterised by wide ethnic, racial, and linguistic variations. Now as to which of these is to get precedence is a matter that is for the planners to determine but we must dare say that national integration and cohesion cannot get a back seat just to perpetuate a dollar bonanza, the benefits of which in any case, are not going to filter down to the man on the street, the man who really comprises Pakistan.

Over-Consumption Said Harming Economy

93AS0935K Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES
in English 28 May 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Economic Situation"]

[Text] Off and on, attention is drawn at official and private levels to the low level of savings, inflationary pressure and growing budgetary deficit. Pakistani society over the years has developed into a highly consumption-oriented one. The level of national savings is very low especially for a country with a per capita income of about 400 dollars. More than one-fourth of the total investment during 1991-92 had been financed from foreign savings which had direct implications for the debt profile of the country.

One of the problems is the unsustainability of the twin imbalance in the economy, namely the fiscal and balance of payments deficits. Fiscal budget has been quite large in recent years but during the current year it is estimated to be an all-time record, exceeding much beyond Rs 100 billion. The deficit has been increasingly financed through bank borrowing leading to unanticipated expansion of money supply. Such an increase in liquidity is bound to appear in the form of price pressures. The rate of inflation which has already entered into double figures may exceed 20 per cent by the end of the current financial year. It is time that positive measures were taken both for resource mobilisation and containing non-development expenditure to bring down the size of the fiscal deficit. Failure to reduce the size of the

budgetary deficit would mean further deterioration in the domestic profile and greater budgetary burden of servicing the debt. More importantly, any sustained increase in prices may mean price rise becoming part of expectations of savers and investors and eventually erode the confidence in the country's currency. The deficit on current account during 1991-92 stood at 2.152 billion dollars (5.0 per cent of GNP) as compared with 1.567 billion dollars (3.7 per cent of GNP) in the previous year. The continuing deficit of this size would mean greater foreign debt and its obvious impact on exchange rate and capital outflows. At present our economy is breathing in intensive care and its health depends on bold action by the government to take it out of its unenviable plight.

Export Performance Faulted

93AS0936D Lahore *THE PAKISTAN TIMES*
in English 29 May 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Meeting Export Target"]

[Text] In an interview with this newspaper, the Vice-Chairman of the Export Promotion Bureau (EPB) pointed out that Pakistan was facing difficulties in achieving the eight billion dollars export target during the current financial year due to certain unexpected set-backs in the shape of poor cotton crops and intense competition in the world rice market. Exports play a vital role in the development strategy of Pakistan. They are crucial for earning foreign exchange, expanding the scope of employment and generating income. However, we have not been able to make a real breakthrough in boosting our exports to wipe out the deficit in our balance of trade which we have been persistently facing for long. Our major exports are agricultural products and semi-finished goods which is never a healthy economic sign.

As the Vice-Chairman of the EPB clarified, the cotton and cotton products contributed 60 per cent to the country's total exports but a net deficiency of 30 per cent in the cotton yield jeopardised the entire current target. Rice, with six per cent, was the second export contributor. But Pakistan had lost some traditional rice buyers like Iran due to certain reasons. Moreover, the price competition in the world market was responsible for the decrease in exports. The carpet sector was undergoing keen competition from Iran and China, while the flourishing garments industry which received a severe blow from China was facing a tough time in adjusting itself in the world market. Exports from any country are dependent upon external and domestic policies and conditions. In order to increase its exports, a country has to adopt an aggressive export policy backed by highly competitive exportable goods, both in prices and quality. The Government of Pakistan has already taken some important measures to promote exports. These are a mix of customs and excise duty rebates, export finance schemes, concessional interest rates, income tax rebates, an export-oriented trade policy and adjustments in the

exchange value of the rupee. But these measures are at best only palliatives. Their scope is limited and their efficacy conditional. The permanent solution lies in increasing the production of value-added goods which can capture foreign markets. Thus, in the long run, our export performance will depend on the extent to which the structure of our agriculture and industry is transformed through the introduction of modern technology.

Deficit Reaching All-Time High Levels

93AS0935J Lahore *THE PAKISTAN TIMES* in English
30 May 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Meeting Fiscal Deficit"]

[Text] The Federal Finance Minister, Mr. Sartaj Aziz, in a high-level meeting of senior officials of the Finance, Economic Affairs and Revenue Divisions held at the Finance Ministry, reviewed the progress of work for the preparation of the budget, the present state of the economy and the position of fiscal deficit. The budget makers are at present confronted with an all-time big budgetary deficit. It looks certain to go much beyond Rs. 100 billion against the projected target of Rs. 95 billion by the end of the current financial year. Taxes can go a long way to reduce the fiscal deficit if non-development expenditure is curtailed at the same time. However, Pakistan's tax structure suffers from a narrow base in almost every sense. This is due to the fact that the existing taxation policy relies heavily on indirect taxes which contribute nearly 86 per cent of the total tax revenue, while the share of direct taxes is only 14 per cent.

For the last many years, whenever the government needed more revenue, it imposed indirect taxes which are easy to collect. This has been done at the cost of the common consumer. The reverse has been the practice in case of direct taxes whose impact has been reduced systematically. It is, therefore, a strange economic phenomenon in our country that when national income goes up, the government revenues go down. The explanation is that the additional income goes to the rich and the privileged sections of the society who have been exempted from tax legally or who manage, through various devices, including collusion with the tax officials, to evade payment of tax legally due from them. According to a study recently conducted by the Central Board of Revenue (CBR), the major business groups in the country are not among those who pay high taxes according to their financial position. The study was undertaken to assess whether the country's present low level of revenues could be raised to lessen the growing funding difficulties of the government. The report also stated that after the middle class businessmen, only the employees of government and non-government organisations paid their taxes regularly. It cannot be denied that some industrialists in Pakistan who have been given many tax exemptions do not hesitate to indulge in tax evasion. It is a pity that no big tax evader has so far been punished in Pakistan. In the USA tax evasion is strictly

controlled and heavily punished. We urgently need to develop such a tax culture in the country. An economy cannot be run on the basis of a taxation system which holds no sanctity and no fear for the tax evader.

Sharif's Economic Reform Defended, Claimed Necessary

93AS0936H Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES
in English 1 Jun 93 p 6

[Editorial: "An Economic Necessity"]

[Text] Federal Finance Minister, Mr. Sartaj Aziz, has expressed his disappointment over the current political developments in the country which have had an adverse impact on the economy. He pointed out that the decision of the Supreme Court to restore the National Assembly had a very healthy influence on the stock market, which had lost 37 points in a single day after the dissolution but regained 45 points within three days. Similarly, the country's foreign exchange reserves, which had declined from 650 million dollars on April 18 to 370 million dollars on May 25, had increased by 55 million dollars and risen to 425 million dollars within three days. Many investors were showing renewed interest in various investment projects. However, he emphasised that the dissolution of the Punjab and NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] Assemblies would again send signals of uncertainty to the stock market and greatly retard the efforts which were underway to restore the confidence of businessmen and investors in the future of the economy.

It cannot be overemphasised that the economic reforms, introduced by the present government, designed mainly to usher in an industrial revolution in the country to solve the problems of unemployment and income disparities, cannot produce the desired results in a vacuum. The basic condition is the maintenance of law and order and uninterrupted stability to implement these reforms. As good politics is good economics, political stability constitutes the foundation on which the edifice of a sound and stable economic development can be raised. The economic miracle wrought by Singapore is rooted in the political stability that the tiny country has enjoyed over many years. A stock exchange operates as an effective instrument of encouraging investment by raising capital. Its behaviour reveals the temper and trend of economic activity. It is at the same time very sensitive to the political climate prevailing in a country. Any negative development on the political front makes it assume a bearish outlook. Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, while inaugurating Pakistan Television's second channel in November last, had rightly said: "We have to keep our political differences away from the country's economic agenda. We have already lost many decades in political tussle and turmoil, while other countries which attained independence after Pakistan have marched ahead of us in providing fruits of socio-economic uplift to their people." He had added that he was looking forward to the day when Pakistan, too, would be known for its political stability and economic

development. Let all the political forces in the country work together to make his dream come true.

Foreign Investment Seen Economic Necessity

93AS0937J Islamabad PULSE in English 3 Jun 93 p 26

[Article by Wali Mazari: "Pakistan: The Case for Foreign Investment"]

[Text] Pakistan, like many other less developed countries (LDCs) around the globe, has undertaken major economic reforms designed to move rapidly towards a market economy with the private sector as its engine of growth.

The failure of the command and semi-command economy structures exposed by the disintegration of the Soviet Union and its Communist and Socialist satellites in Eastern Europe, made the decision to move towards a market economy by many less developed nation states, a strategic imperative for economic survival.

Military supremacy as a stand-alone strategic objective on the global level may have become expendable with the tactical balance of terror of nuclear weapons coinciding with the increasing economic competitiveness between developed economies in the international markets.

At the same time, the proliferation of transnational companies operating across national boundaries is increasingly contributing more towards the prosperity of individual national economies.

As a result, a key decision factor was the need to tap and attract substantial foreign hard currency capital to both jump start and provide long-term growth to such nation states' economies. That, in turn, would have trickle down effects in achieving the larger goal of equitable distribution in such nation states' civil societies.

Pakistan has moved "fast" towards providing incentives to attract foreign capital for investment. The government has promulgated decisive macro and micro economic reforms, including fiscal incentives, for this purpose. There has been complete deregulation in seeking government sanction for industrial and other project investment, except for banking, arms and ammunition, security printing and currency notes and high explosives and radio-active substances.

The Pakistani rupee has for all intents and purposes become freely convertible. There is no restriction on the movement of any hard foreign currency either by foreigners or by Pakistani citizens from Pakistan. Foreign investors are allowed to own up to 100 per cent equity in a project in Pakistan. They can also repatriate freely their original capital and profits. The previous government was until its dismissal in the process of privatizing most of its industrial and other assets, including banks, through an open bidding process.

For industrial projects set up from now up to 1995, tax holidays ranging from a minimum period of three years to a maximum of eight years depending on location, are allowed by the government. Comprehensive details of incentives and other relevant information regarding foreign investment can be studied in readily available GOP documents such as the Pakistan Investment Guide, 1991, the Pakistan Investment Guide Supplement, 1992-93, Agency Profiles compiled by the Investment Promotion Bureau [IPB] and Project Profiles compiled by IPB.

All business and official government correspondence and transactions, including in banking, is conducted in English, the international business language. The country has a well-developed telecommunications network, including competing cellular networks linking all major cities as well as to the international ISD system. The manufacturing sector may be attractive as Pakistan has one of the lowest costs of labour in comparison to other competing countries.

The financial sector is also developing quickly. There are 17 foreign banks operating in Pakistan, including Citibank, American Express, Bank of America, Chase Manhattan, Bank of Tokyo, Standard Chartered, ANZ Grindlays, Deutsche Bank and Hong Kong Shanghai Bank. The government's privatization policies have seen the denationalization of two banks—Muslim Commercial Bank and Allied Bank—over the last two years, as well as opening of seven new local commercial banks.

Permission has also been given to various investment banks, leasing companies and investment brokerage houses as the government is keen to develop a vibrant capital market in Pakistan. Foreign exchange dealerships and licensed money changers authorised by the State Bank have also been set up. Some of the investment and financial services are joint ventures between local companies and reputable foreign entities.

On the investment banking side, local companies have forged joint ventures with Bank of Tokyo and with the private investment arm of the World Bank—the IFC. The Karachi Stock Exchange has also attracted international attention. A local brokerage firm, Jehangir Siddiqui, has launched a joint venture with the reputable US brokerage and investment house—Bear Stearns.

The government is keen to expand financial services activities in the private sector to develop the capital market. However, as with other developing capital markets, the government also has to ensure adequate regulation to prevent a collapse of the financial sector.

Therefore, besides instituting prudential regulations and monitoring strict liquidity and other financial ratios of banks, the government looks favourably to granting permission and support to joint ventures between local companies and recognized foreign entities with substantial international or regional expertise in financial services or in developing capital markets. Pakistan is a particularly attractive investment opportunity in the financial services sector for the following reasons:

- 1) The spread between the lending rate and the cost of depositors capital. The local lending rate offered by banks and leasing companies for companies and in individuals, especially for working capital and short-to medium-term loans, is around 20 per cent, while the rates offered to depositors for rupee accounts do not exceed a maximum of 10 per cent per annum, except for longer-term government-sponsored DFI saving certificates and public utilities bonds.
- 2) With the private sector as its driver, supported by the government, a plethora of financial services and related activities is mushrooming for attractive investment possibilities. Such activities may include:
 - Consumer banking products such as car and house financing and credit cards (Citibank has already aggressively launched such products).
 - Launching of mutual funds.
 - Forex dealings.
 - Corporate advisory services.
 - Investment placement.
 - Financial consultancy.
 - Underwriting of public and private placement.
 - Credit rating and appraisal service.

The projected return on equity (ROE) and investment (ROI) both in the financial services and manufacturing sectors are not less than 20 per cent per annum, and in the case of the latter, may go up to 40 per cent over the long term as greater initial cost and risk are balanced by higher returns. However, the high rate of lending is a barrier to entry in the manufacturing sector for the local rupee investor.

In the long run, interest rates have to come down in order to attract substantial local investment in the key manufacturing sectors as real distributional growth in the economy can be achieved only with a balanced mix of local and foreign private investment.

Pakistan's major drawback has been the lack of political stability as three successive elected governments have been dismissed in five years on the whims of presidential power. Notwithstanding the legal aspects of such actions (the latest is currently subjudice at the Supreme Court), the net fallout is a shattering of confidence of both local and foreign investors in looking at Pakistan as an attractive base for long-term investment, particularly at a time where other countries are competing aggressively for the same scarce global resources.

The recent change of government, despite the assurances of the caretaker regime, has made many foreign investors put their projects for investment in Pakistan on hold (e.g., Daewoo's US\$400 million project investment) as they anxiously watch the unfolding political drama as our ruling elite vie for power at the expense of national

interest. Such investors are also looking at other viable alternative "sites" for investing their capital.

Joint Development Ventures With China Planned

93AS0935B Karachi *BUSINESS RECORDER*
in English 5 Jun 93 p 1

[Text] Gilgit, June 4—The Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the People's Republic of China have agreed to explore the possibility of joint ventures for the multi-dimensional developments in Northern Areas of Pakistan.

This was stated in Gilgit by Chief Commissioner of Northern Areas Shakil Durrani who returned from Uighar autonomous region of Xingjiang, People's Republic of China after a week-long official visit the other day.

The eight-member official delegation of Pakistan included the representatives of the nation-building departments, Northern Areas Traders Co-operative Ltd, private enterprises and business concerns. The Chief Commissioner who led the delegation to Xingjiang Province told mediamen in Gilgit that the delegation held wide-ranging talks with the Vice Governor of Xingjiang on bilateral issues which included the possibility of joint ventures in Northern Areas of Pakistan.

The joint ventures will be in various fields like installation of small hydel power projects, fruit processing and preservation, construction of re-inforced cement concrete bridges, agriculture and agro-based industries, cement manufacturing dams and irrigation channels, cultivation of sunflower as a model crop in the five districts of Gilgit, Ghizar, Skardu, Chander and Diamer. As a preliminary joint venture both delegations have agreed to the installation of a liquified gas plant in Gilgit at a cost of Rs. 15 million which will be completed within a period of eight months. The Pakistan Government will have an investment share of 51 per cent while the Chinese Government will have an investment share of 49 per cent in this project. The project will be first of its kind in the development history of Northern Areas.

The project, on its completion will meet the increasing demand of the liquified gas cylinders in Gilgit and other parts of Northern Areas at comparatively lesser cost than the existing landed cost of the gas cylinders from Islamabad. The Chinese Government has agreed to export liquified gas in metric tons which will be transported from Xingjiang to Gilgit and the cylinders filled in the Gilgit gas plant for distribution to the consumers. Apart from the meeting of fuel, the Gilgit liquified gas plant on its commission will reduce the increasing burden on our natural forests which were constantly depleting resulting in numerous environmental problems. The Chief Commissioner said that a team of Chinese experts is likely to visit the Northern Areas for studying the possibility of these joint ventures in the near future.—APP

Budget Issues Analyzed, Reviewed

93AS0936I Lahore *THE PAKISTAN TIMES* in English
7 Jun 93 p 7

[Article by Zahur-Ul-Haque: "Budget 1993-94: Major Issues"]

[Text] With the federal budget 1993-94 fast approaching, the common man in the country is living in fear of a price-hike in the articles of daily consumption. The harassed housewife who is already finding it difficult to make both ends meet is getting her own nightmares. This is because of their experience of the budget over the years. The budget should actually hold terror for the rich who should expect an increase in direct taxes so that they contribute their full share to the state which has made it possible for them to become wealthy. However, in Pakistan poor and voiceless people—30 per cent of whom live even below the poverty line—are made to pay through their noses by ever-increasing indirect taxes.

What is a national budget? Prima facie, it sets out estimates of government revenue and expenditure for the financial year. All the same it is not an accountant's job. The annual budget happens to be the most important single policy document of the government. It is the blueprint for social and economic development of the country, projecting the programme and strategy of the managers of the national economy in the coming year in the light of existing and anticipated resources. It is also a document in which economic activity of the last year is reviewed and future commitments of the government are evaluated. The budget, if backed by a strong political will, is veritably an economic instrument for ushering in a silent socio-economic revolution in the country.

What is the budgetary position in Pakistan? The budget deficit has been increasing at a phenomenal pace. According to the Economic Survey 1991-92, from 5.3 per cent of GDP in 1980-81, it increased to 8.8 per cent in 1990-91. During 1992-93, it may touch an all-time record and is estimated to cross nine per cent of GDP. Because of the wide gap between total expenditure and total resources, deficit financing has become the villain of the piece of budget making in Pakistan. It increased from Rs. 14.66 billion in 1979-80 to Rs. 58.68 billion in 1991-92 due to heavy non-development expenditure.

Actually no economic sanctity is attached to a balanced budget. Deficit financing can become a blessing if it is indulged in to finance the genuine economic development programmes. That way it becomes self-liquidating. But when the weapon of deficit financing is used persistently to meet the ever-increasing current expenditure it becomes a double-edged sword damaging both the rulers and the ruled. It gives birth to inflation which has increased to a double figure in Pakistan. Inflation is like a robber depriving a citizen of his purchasing power. The difference, however, is that a robber can be seen whereas inflation is invisible, a robber can be caught and punished, inflation goes Scot free.

It is apprehended that in the coming budget, on the advice of the World Bank, there may be a substantial increase in user charges. It is true that borrowers cannot be choosers, but to allow the World Bank to become a super budget-making authority is against the very principle of the sovereignty of the state. The Bank has become an exclusive club of the Western financiers who always looks after the interests of the lenders. Its advice about budget can hardly be in the interest of the people of Pakistan. Indirect taxes constitute 86 per cent of the total tax revenue of the federal government, while direct taxes, which make the budget an effective tool of change in the economy, contribute only 14 per cent towards the federal finance. Since user charges are indirect taxes, their increase will hit the common man hard, because his taxable capacity has already gone beyond the limit.

For the last many years, whenever the government needed more revenue, it imposed indirect taxes which are easy to collect. In the case of direct taxes their impact has been reduced systematically. According to a study recently conducted by the Central Board of Revenue (CBR), the major business groups in the country are not among those who pay high taxes according to their wealth. The study was undertaken to assess whether the country's present low level of revenues could be raised to lessen the growing funding difficulties of the government. The report also stated that after the middle class businessmen, only the employees of the government and non-government organisations paid their taxes regularly. The Chairman, CBR, addressing the members of Financial Writers Association of Pakistan the other day stated that since 1980s, a culture was created which allowed tax negotiations and as a result thereof the whole fiscal system had become hostage to businessmen and investors, whereas all over the world it was the parliament which gave decisions. All this calls for demonstration of a strong political will by the government to remove these anomalies in the taxation system for streamlining it thoroughly to achieve the ends of a welfare state.

The USAID's 1987 country report on Pakistan quoted World Bank's John Lewis as saying: "The Pakistan economy is, in certain important respects, living on borrowed time." The other day the former Vice-Chancellor of Punjab University Dr Rafique Ahmad speaking at the Pre-budget forum on federal budget 1993-94, said that the Pakistan economy had been in the intensive care for so many years and now was the time for it to come out and breathe some fresh air. This is a result of the economy being made to serve the vested interests. Dr. Rafique Ahmed emphasised the need to secure national consensus over the federal budget. People of all shades of political opinion should be allowed to take part in the budget-making process, he added. He regretted that no qualitative step could be undertaken over the last many years to solve chronic problems of the economy.

Iran's Interest in Joint Industrial Projects Welcomed

93AS0935C Karachi *BUSINESS RECORDER*
in English 7 Jun 93 p 2

[Editorial: "Iran's Initiative in Joint Ventures"]

[Text] That the public-sector investment organisation of Iran known as Janbazan Foundation, will invest \$14 million in the promotion of joint industrial ventures in Pakistan including modernisation, replacement and expansion of Iran-Pakistan textile mills in Balochistan, is indeed a highly encouraging development. Iran's aforementioned Foundation is stated to be based with the objective of promoting joint-venture development projects in the Muslim countries in addition to controlling as many as 500 companies in Iran with profitable return in operations. The Foundation as reportedly stated by Mohammad Akbari, the visiting official of the Foundation, has also been participating in tenders floated by Pakistan government for the construction projects like roads, highways and bridges. The Foundation has stepped up its efforts to explore avenues of investment in the Central Asian republics.

The active initiative from the public-sector organisation of Iran in the development of joint ventures in Pakistan and other Muslim states is indeed a laudable move which would contribute significantly to the aims and objects of the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO). It may be mentioned that the ECO which has been expanded significantly after the inclusion of Central Asian republics and Afghanistan, as regular members, has been looking forward seriously in its periodic high-level meetings to pushing forward coordinated development efforts in the region but concrete results have remained conspicuously absent. The Iranian Foundation's dynamic role it is expected, would fill the void in the promotion of joint investment activity in industry and other vital fields in the region.

Foreign Exchange Reserves Said Strengthening

93AS0936K Karachi *DAWN* in English 9 Jun 93 p 8

[Text] Islamabad, June 8—The position of foreign exchange reserves has improved considerably after the restoration of the National Assembly and registered an increase of \$40 million.

This was stated by Parliamentary Secretary for Finance Rana Tanveer Hussain while responding to a call attention notice by Iqbal Cheema, Tariq C. Qaiser, Mian Muhammad Yasin Khan Wattoo and Gul Hameed Rokri regarding shortage of foreign exchange and financial crisis in the country.

Rana Tanveer Hussain admitted that the foreign exchange position had been on the verge of decline during the caretaker government owing to political uncertainty.

The Parliamentary Secretary said the foreign exchange reserves position declined from \$1,011 million on April 17 to \$364.1 million on May 25. After the restoration of the National Assembly it increased to \$418.5 million on May 27 and reached \$432.7 million on May 30.

He said dissolution of the Provincial Assemblies was again a setback which had its negative impact on the foreign exchange position.

Rana Tanveer Hussain said internal stability was a pre-requisite for enhanced economic activity to achieve the economic targets.

Replying to a question about the measures being taken to improve the situation, he said emphasis was being laid on boosting exports.

He assured the House that the economic policies of the government were firm and would continue to improve the overall situation in the country.—APP

Iran To Increase Supply of Liquefied Petroleum Gas

BK1707155893 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in Urdu 1500 GMT 17 Jul 93

[Text] Iran's National Liquefied Petroleum Gas and Pakistan State Oil [PSO] signed a memorandum of understanding in Karachi today, under which the quantity of liquefied petroleum gas [LPG] Iran supplies to Pakistan will be increased.

According to the agreement, the infrastructural facilities for the storage and distribution of LPG will be improved and joint venture projects set up. The agreement was signed by ('Ali Hashmi), Iran's deputy minister and chairman of the national company [name and title as heard], and PSO Managing Director Mian Mohammad (Khaleel). Later, speaking to reporters, ('Ali Hashmi) said Iran is currently supplying 25 metric tons of LPG to Pakistan under an agreement with PSO and further increases in this quantity will depend on the provision of additional facilities, including wagons.

Government's Second Rupee Devaluation Outlined

BK2307123993 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Jul 93 p 1

[Text] Karachi, July 22—The government resorted to second devaluation of Pak rupee by six percent or Rs 170 on Thursday which has taken the currency to Rs 29.85 per dollar.

Exactly a week ago on July 15, the rupee had been devalued by 89 paisas and with this downward realignment, it was quoted at Rs 28.16 a dollar. The depreciation of rupee has now assumed a new dimension after its parity with the dollar now fixed to Rs 29.85.

According to Finance Ministry press note, this adjustment has been done in two stages. On July 15, 1993 a three percent adjustment was made which took the value

of dollar to Rs 28.16. The government has now made the second adjustment of six percent which has lowered the rupee parity rate to Rs 29.85 per dollar.

With this adjustment, the government is of the view that the required realignment of rupee in response to the recent changes in the other relevant currencies has been carried out. It is hoped that Pakistan exports would respond to the competitive edge.

The Finance Ministry noted that during the last year severe currency fluctuations in the international markets have created serious trade distortions. They have also tended to create uncertainty among the business and trade communities.

For the last few months, the government has been carefully analysing the reasons for the adverse trade figures. In this connection, it has looked at the changes in the market shares for its main exports to European community, Japan and North America. And it came to the conclusion that a significant readjustment is required in the rupee parity to the dollar.

After the devaluation, the State Bank of Pakistan today fixed the purchase and sale of US dollar to the authorised declares at the following rates: For buying per US dollar spot and forward up to six month, 29.8500 rupee and 28.9545 for 12 months. As for selling it the sales have been fixed at Rs. 9903 (spot) and Rs 31.1187 and Rs (?12.2881) for six and 12 months respectively.

For export, the revised rates at which authorised dealers will buy from and sell dollar to public with effect from July 22, 1993, have been fixed at Rs 29.8201 spot and forward up to six months and Rs 28.9246 for forward up to 12 months (T T clean) and 29.7221 (spot and forward up to six month forward) an Rs 28.8266 12 months forwards) [sentence as published].

The selling rate (spot) has been fixed at Rs 30.0292 and Rs 3.1486 and Rs 32.2680 for six months and 12 months forward respectively.

However, the unofficial rupee-dollar parity showed the rates being quoted at Rs. 32.15 for a dollar.

The devaluation decision precedes the visit of an IMF team which is due here on July 24 to finalise conditionalities for an IMF loan of nearly 550 million dollars. The devaluation also indicates the precarious foreign exchange reserves position.

The State Bank of Pakistan is not issuing the statement of foreign exchange position on the plea that it is busy in finalising the annual accounts.

Financial experts believe that export earnings will go up in terms of local currency as result of devaluation and inflationary pressure which would however, be offset by more rupees required for dollar imports. Yet the cost of imported-related inflation would mount.

Since the government has [word indistinct] to link period prices with rupee-dollar parity and review it every three months, petroleum prices will go up and increased transport charges would have effects on the prices of all goods and services.

Inflation will also raise the debt servicing liability of the government which may go up by about nine to ten percent, causing budget deficit to go much beyond the Rs 85 billion.

"Similarly, cost of investment and imported machinery and raw materials will increase and affect industrialisation, [no end quote as published] says Karachi Chamber of Commerce and Industry President Tahir Khaliq while

talking to THE MUSLIM. He, however, hoped that with the devaluation, Pakistan exports would increase.

Meanwhile sources at the All Pakistan Textile Mills Association (APTMA) which had made repeated demand for the downward adjustment of rupee to compete in the international procession-hit markets, were of the view that Pakistan rupee should further be devalued and brought at least at par with Indian currency which is Rs 33 a dollar.

The sources said that the textile sector which has over 60 percent share in Pakistan's total exports finds it difficult to compete in world markets particularly due to the devaluation of currencies of its competitors.

Vulnerability to Cuts in U.S. Arms Supply Seen Detrimental

93AS0936C Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES
in English 27 May 93 p 6

[Article by EAS Bokhari: "Lessons From US-Pakistan Relationship"]

[Text] This short presentation deals with the subject of US arms transfers to Pakistan during the last decade and a half, and some of the lessons that can be drawn from these uneven transactions which now stand totally suspended. The very nature and timeframe of these transfers is enough to show that arms transfers can be a "multidimensional process involving complex sets of relationships, interests and outcomes."

There is no doubt that the suppliers have always considered that arms supplies create a sense of dependence in the recipients and thus it serves as a major instrument for international influence—and the political interests of the supplier Pakistani receipt of US aid is no exception (of course, with some important constraints where Pakistan extracted certain benefits indirectly).

An accepted definition of power is the capacity of a state to control the behaviour of another state. Consequently, the influence thus exercised can be either decisional or structural, and even reverse. The decisional influence implies the ability of one actor to influence by bargaining the foreign and domestic policies of the other country. As regards the structural influence—the great powers and arms suppliers (hitherto US, former USSR, France and China et al) enjoy strong structural influence which is derived from their superior power position in the international system. Decisional influence is, however, more tangible and direct—and the recipient apparently toes the line of the supplier as a result of arms aid/transfers.

"The criterion, therefore, for a successful influence attempt at the decisional level is whether the recipient modifies a particular policy according to the wishes of the supplier that were expressed prior to arms deal, or along with delivery."

The crux of the US-Pakistan arms transfers is that the relationship "shows the successes and failures in supplier influence through arms transfers, especially at the height of cold war... However, Pakistan's near total dependence on US weapons and its own less-developed domestic armament-manufacturing capabilities made it vulnerable to US structural influence... Despite these constraints, Pakistan succeeded in obtaining many modern weapon systems from the US; this was mainly because of structural factors, the Soviet-US zero-sum rivalry in the region until the late 1980s being the most prominent ... the end of the cold war and the Afghan war changed the strategic relationship that the US had developed with Pakistan, drastically undermining Islamabad's reverse influence."

The period of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan provides a fitting test case how arms transfers have worked as instruments of structural and decisional influence in the US-Pakistani relationship. The Soviet action has in fact generated a serious strategic reaction from Washington as it followed in the wake of the fall of Shah of Iran—and the threat to oil supplies for American allies from Persian Gulf. (Again, the burning of the American Embassy in September in Islamabad had brought US-Pakistan relations at their lowest ebb.)

Consequently, following the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan the Carter Administration "persuaded the Pakistani regime to act as a conduit for arms supplies to the Afghan resistance groups the promise of arms and economic assistance to Pakistan was the main component of this influence attempt." The crux of the issue is that till the Soviet adventure in Afghanistan the US administration had viewed Pakistan as a less significant power in the region. It was the Soviet action which dramatically altered the US policy towards Pakistan, and Pakistan suddenly became the most important country in the region for the containment of the Soviet Union in the resurgent cold war climate. "President Carter, responding to the Soviet action, offered Pakistan a \$400 million assistance package in February 1980, but this was considered by the Pakistanis as too small a price for substantial security cooperation."

President Reagan continued with determination to negate the Soviet expansionist policy, and arms transfers were a major policy matter with the Reagan Administration. A knowledgeable US official summed up the situation rather succinctly thus: "Arms transfers, properly considered and employed, represent an indispensable instrument of American policy, that both complements and supplements the role of our own military forces."

Consistent with this rather permissive US policy, Pakistan emerged as a strategically very important state, and the result was a manifold increase in the US arms and economic aid to Pakistan in 1980s and a substantial bolstering of its defence capabilities despite concerns expressed in some quarters regarding the trampling of democracy and human rights by Zia's regime and Pakistan's quest for achieving nuclear capability. By 1985, Pakistan became the fourth largest recipient of US bilateral military assistance after Israel, Turkey and Egypt. With the approval of \$4.02 billion military and economic aid package in 1987, Pakistan emerged as the second largest recipient of American aid after Israel.

The strategically linkage and the US gains can well be judged from the US perception that "arms offer was a regional response of the US; as a militarily strong Pakistan would be a deterrent to Soviet reprisals against the resistance forces operating from that country."

Now a few words about the reverse Pakistani influence. This is rather significant. First of all, the rejection of President Carter's initial offer was a calculated move on the part of Pakistan. President Ziaul-Haq had termed the

\$400 million aid as "peanuts" and said "You take Pakistan out of the region, and you will find that you have not an inch of soil where America can have influence, from Turkey down to Vietnam." Thus, later the Reagan Administration's willingness in 1981 to provide \$3.2 billion aid could be regarded as a diplomatic success for Pakistan. Again, the acquisition of deep-strike F-16s (in place of less-advanced F-GGs) along with their latest avionics was another example of Pakistan's reverse influence.

So in sum, the US arms aid had worked in furthering US interests but the aid apparently did achieve the total success which the Americans had expected, and some of the reverse influences in fact were more helpful to Pakistan than furtherance of US aims. All the same, the US arms transfers did have considerable influence over Pakistani policies, though not in their entirety.

Chinese Aircraft Demonstration Held at Chaklala *93AS0936J Karachi DAWN in English 28 May 93 p 18*

[Text] Islamabad, May 27—Y-12, an aircraft manufactured by a Chinese Aero Technical Corporation, for the mountainous areas of Pakistan gave a spectacular flying demonstration at PAF [Pakistan Air Force] base, Chaklala, here on Thursday.

Y-12 aircraft with characteristics of short distance take off and landing, good manoeuvrability and small turning radius is capable to take off and land on roughly prepared runways such as that of sand and stone, earth or grasslands.

Chinese Ambassador to Pakistan, Mr Zhou Gang, was the chief guest at the flying demonstration of Y-12 aircraft manufactured by China National Aero Technology Import and Export Corporation (CATIC) established in 1979.

Chairman, Pakistan International Airlines, [letters illegible], Mr Anwar Zahid, and many other high-level officers from Ministry of Defence, PAF, Navy and army were also present on the occasion.

Y-12, a general purpose aircraft, is capable of various missions including passenger 17 seats, cargo transportation, air dropping and parachute jumping, forest seeding, geological survey, aerial photography.—PPI

Purchase of French Arms Advocated *93AS0935H Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 2 Jun 93 p 6*

[Article by EAS Bokhari: "French Arms & Pakistan"]

[Text] With the drying up of the US sources, Pakistan must shop elsewhere for her armament needs. Presently a high-powered team is negotiating with France for essential equipment for Pakistan's armed forces. As it is, Pakistan has already inducted French equipments in the three services. Just to name a few, the Pakistan Navy has

sophisticated Agosta and Daphne-type submarines, and the deadly sea skimming 'Exocet' missiles (which sank British warship HMS Sheffield in the Falkland War in 1982). The Navy apparently also possesses French torpedoes (F-17P) which have been supplied by Establishment Des Constructions Et Armes Navales De Saint - Tropez (DTCN). "Puma," yet another versatile helicopter, is seen operating with our Army aviation and has performed very well indeed, and is the most reliable work-horse for maintaining our troops in Siachin and other Northern areas where supplies by road transport are impossible.

The Air Force of Pakistan already possesses some Mirage III and V (reconnaissance) aircraft, and recently Pakistan has added about fifty Mirage Vs (transferred from Australia). A squadron plus of these old aircraft is, I suppose, already operational. This was a much discussed deal but I have always felt that it was fairly judicious and cost-effective. The total expenditure on these aircraft would not have bought more than a couple of modern sophisticated fighter aircraft. This catch of older aircraft can serve Kamra well where cannibalisation can be carried out and a number of operationally-fit aircraft produced. The deal also includes a number of jigs and other items which can materially help (besides a large quantity of spares) in aircraft rebuild in Pakistan. This, I understand, is already being done at Kamra (Attock).

As I have often pointed out in these columns, our major imbalances at the moment are fighter aircraft as the promised 60 F-16s are not being supplied by USA, Naval aircraft and submarines (as we cannot possibly afford an aircraft carrier) and a sizable quantum of MBTs (Main Battle Tank), as our much-trumpeted Al-Khalid is in no way near the production line yet. The Indians have already unveiled their Arjun which will be serially produced soon and even exported.

Pakistan had hoped to transfer some 200 T-72s from Poland but very little appears to have happened about this so far. And with the imbalances in the MBT, i.e., a tank with gun power of, say, a tank mounting a 120-mm tank gun (or greater caliber) persisting, Pakistan has but to find a suitable tank. The Indians as would be known, have got the T-72 and now Arjun is being inducted in the Indian armoured regiments (some 60 of these). According to the Indian press and the recent prototype trials in Rajasthan and elsewhere, the Indians say that Arjun is superior to the Soviet &-72 which was primarily designed for the plains of central Europe, and not for Indian environments, especially desert where the engine power starts derating rather quickly due to excessive heat.

Pakistan has an eye on about 40 Mirage 2000-V fighter aircraft, a good number of French MBT Leclerc and a few submarines (we may even go for a nuclear-powered boat too). This I suppose is a fair but very costly list and may cost about 43.6 billion.

There is no doubt about the versatility of French equipments—but then French are very aggressive salesmen. You pay and get the stuff. We might keep in mind the Indian Mirage deal which went sour after a couple of squadrons were acquired by India on the issue of price and transfer of technology—(the French did not like the idea of licensed production.)

The environments of the French industry presently are somewhat changed, and the arms industry is not finding very many domestic buyers due to the end of cold war and the disintegration of Soviet Union—so the French arms sellers have to reorient and restrict their sales which have perforce to be dumped in the Third World. This is what precisely is likely to happen; all the same we have to be careful to see that technology transfer also takes place along with “off the shelf” transfer of equipment. As far as the Mirages are concerned—Kamra should be in a position to rebuild Mirage 2000-V if technology transfer takes place. Mirage III and V are already being dealt with there and rebuilt along with other aircraft.

A few words about the French MBT Leclerc. This tank is a fairly sophisticated Western tank. It has a crew of only 3 (we are used to four) and its weight is 54.5 tones i.e., it is much lighter than the US Abrams M1A-2 and consequently more suited for our terrain and even riverine tracts around Lahore and elsewhere—but we must be more concerned with ‘South’—and should see that the engine of the French MBT which has a power of 1500/1100 hp/KW does not derate in desert terrain or it may not suit our requirement. I hope the Uni Diesel UD V8X cylinder diesel serves us well in the desert terrain.

The French tank otherwise appears to be fairly sophisticated with a GIAT 120 mm-smooth-bore gun (as opposed to a rifled piece in the Indian Arjun). Why the Indians are insisting on a rifled gun—which is usually more effective for indirect fire—is an enigma. The present trend everywhere in the continent and elsewhere is a smooth-bore flat trajectory tank gun which is used for direct fire. The Indians apparently have a problem with their ammunition which works better with a rifled gun.

Finally, we should be very careful before going in for this buy and all the aspects enumerated above should be gone into before a memorandum of understanding (MOU) is signed with the French, the more important aspect being indigenous production of these equipments and regular flow of parts et al. The deal should be independent of any political spin-off by either side and for that matter any reverse advantage to Pakistan may not be considered as paramount. What is important is regular flow of equipments and understanding for transfer of technology. Let us hope that the deal goes well.

Tribal Groups Reportedly Using Russian Missiles
93AS0957B Lahore MUSAWAT in Urdu 9 Jun 93 p 8

[News Report: “Russian Missiles Used Freely During Clashes Between Two Tribes of Karam Agency; 10 Persons Were Killed, 60 Wounded; and, if the Administration Had Acted in Time, the Fighting Would Have Ended in a Few Hours.”]

[Text] Parachand (NNI): During an armed clash between two groups from the Tori tribes of Karam Agency, the opponents freely used Russian made 18 foot missiles as a result of which 10 individuals were killed and more than 60 seriously wounded. Details received state that dispute over water had been going on for a long time among the Tori tribes of Karam Agency. In the past, several people have been killed and wounded in water disputes among Ote Zai, Khoi Dad Kheel, Shalawar, Anawar, and Tangi tribes. In the latest fighting, the free use of Russian made missiles caused loss of human lives and heavy destruction to dozens of houses as well as mosques. Local leader, Alama Abed Hussain Al Hussaini, called the dispute among tribes of the Karam Agency regrettable and demanded that the government and the administration find a speedy solution for the problem so as to put an end to the continuing murders and plunderings and restore law and order in the area. He said that the possibility could not be ignored that Afghan refugees had participated in the incident; hence, the government should pay immediate attention to the matter and prevent the situation from deteriorating any further.

Acid Said Used to Torture Innocent Women*93AS09381 Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English
26 May 93 p 9*

[Article by Zaigham Khan: "He Poured the Fire of Hell on My Face"]

[Text] Hundreds of women in Pakistan are permanently disfigured and blinded by acid thrown on their faces by men. The women's crime is usually no more than refusing the man's sexual advances, or his proposal of marriage.

Tahira, a fourth year student at Government Degree College for Women, Multan, commuted from home to college by van. Trouble came into her life when Mohammad Jamil, a young shop-keeper, started molesting the group of girls with whom she travelled every day. One day, Jamil pursued Tahira all the way home, and was thrashed by her brothers.

Jamil was angry and decided to take his revenge on Tahira. While she was sitting on the front seat of the van on her way to college, Jamil poured acid on her face. The incident created a furore in the town because Tahira was popular as a debater, quaria, na'at khwan and poetess, and was also admired for her good looks.

Tahira's case was by no means an isolated one. Hundreds of girls are defaced every year in the southern part of Punjab alone. Why are these incidents not highlighted by the press? "I feel that our journalists are either callous or blind," says Dr Ibrar Baloch, a plastic surgeon at Nishtar Hospital and Assistant Professor at Nishtar Medical College. "I myself treat one such case every week and I am referred to by only a fraction of the total number of cases in the area."

Tahira, who belongs to a modestly well-off family, has been admitted to a private ward of Nishtar Hospital in Multan. There is no skin on the left side of her face. Doctors say she may lose her left eye if the lid does not work properly. "We have done three operations on the eye so far," they told TFT.

Her parents show clippings of news items in the local press about her. They take out photocopies of her poems and show her photographs. One of the poems is very recent. It is titled: "The Weaker Sex." In the poem, she compares herself to Imam Hussain at the moment of his martyrdom and raises questions about the status of women in society.

The young poetess breaks down and weeps bitterly while narrating the incident. "I was like an animal brought to bay" she says. "No-one intervened when he threw acid at me. I cried for water, but nobody came to my rescue. People gathered around me in a circle as if I were a conjurer showing tricks."

In the hospital's surgical ward, another young woman goes through the same agony. Nineteen-year-old A'asia, lacks Tahira's sophistication and education. She comes

from a suburban area, Makhdoompur, and speaks Seraiki with a strong rural accent. Her nostrils are burnt, face damaged permanently and body badly injured.

"A man called Aslam Hiraj wanted to marry me," she says. "My parents refused and married me to Akram Mistri two years ago. Aslam first tried to implicate me in a false case, but failed. Then he contracted me and conveyed his wish to establish (sexual) relations with me. I refused, saying that I was the mother of a baby and did not want to destroy my family life. He threatened me with horrible consequences. One night he broke into our house and threw acid on my face while I was sleeping with my husband. My husband's body was also badly burnt."

According to A'asia the accused has already been granted bail. "They are influential people and we have no one but Allah on our side," she says.

Another victim, 18-year-old Shazia, was operated on a day ago. The story is similar. This time the offender is the victim's cousin. He threw acid on Shazia's face after her parents refused to marry her to him. The right side of her face and eyelids have been badly damaged. "She used to be as beautiful as a film-star," says her mother.

Farzana is in her early twenties. She left the hospital a few weeks ago, blinded and disfigured for life. Extremes of misfortune and poverty seem to have joined hands in her case. Her father is handicapped and both brothers addicted to heroin. She and her mother sew clothes to make ends meet. Salim, a young man of her neighbourhood with criminal tendencies was attracted to Farzana. He sent a proposal of marriage to her mother, who refused it. One night he entered their small one-room house and "poured the fire of hell on my face."

Lying in a cot in her house, it is difficult to look at Farzana's disfigured face. "I now pray to God for an early death," she says.

"Life is never the same again for a person who is disfigured," says Dr Ibrar, the plastic surgeon. "Surgery has its limits. We can improve things to a certain extent. And even if we succeed in removing all the scars from the victim's face, we are helpless as far as scars on her psyche are concerned." Dr Ibrar strongly recommends "combined therapy" and insists on the need for a substantial number of clinical psychologists at the hospitals.

According to doctors, acid causes instant damage to the skin. Though the extent of the damage varies from case to case, prolonged and repeated procedures are necessary for treatment. In the vast majority of cases, the woman's face is the target of the attack and the worst damage is found around the eyelids. Eyesight can be lost in a matter of minutes if the eyelids are damaged and eyes remain exposed.

According to doctors the treatment of burns is extremely complicated. The skin is the largest organ of the body, and extensive damage puts stress on all other organs.

Psychiatrists and psychologists are necessary to deal with the emotional trauma that accompanies an acid attack.

There are no burn units at all in most of the hospitals of the country. Lahore has one small burn unit in Mayo hospital, which is scarcely sufficient to cater to a fraction of the cases in the city. Three years ago the then PM realized that facilities for burn victims were next to non-existent when someone close to the PM received serious burn injuries. Although a circular was issued at that time by the Federal Government to the Punjab Government to make arrangements, no substantial step has been taken so far.

Doctors in Multan say that most of the cases of acid attack they treat come from the areas adjoining the banks of the River Chenab. Most of the offenders, in their experience, are close relatives of the victims, and refusal of a proposal of marriage is the commonest reason for the offenders' hostility. "The victim is rarely a party to the conflict," says one doctor, "the dispute is usually between the offender and the parents of the victim."

Mrs Fakhrunnisa Khokhar, the chairperson of Women Rights Organisation, is Farzana's lawyer and is also helping Tahira in her case. "Neither the laws nor the manner in which they are implemented provide enough deterrent against crimes against women of such a gruesome nature," she says. "Magistrates, in whose courts these cases are tried, are not known for their sympathetic attitude. And the police interprets laws in a way that benefits the offender."

Farzana has filed a writ petition in the Multan Bench of the Lahore High Court, in which she has asked for her case to be transferred from the magistrates court to the Special court for the Suppression of Terrorist Activities. In the petition she has argued that further incidents of this nature would not have taken place if proper and speedy action had been taken against the offender.

Admitting the writ for hearing, the learned court has summoned the District Magistrate and ordered stay of further proceedings in her case before Mr Noorullah, the magistrate.

"How many other Farzanas are still waiting for their bottle of acid?" she asked while coming out of the court.

Population Explosion Seen Leading Toward Catastrophe

93AS0936F Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES
in English 11 Jun 93 p 6

[Editorial: "The Impending Catastrophe"]

[Text] Addressing the inaugural session of a workshop at Lahore on 'Male Participation in Family Planning Programme', Punjab Governor Ch. Altaf Hussain pointed out that Pakistan could be made a prosperous country only if we reduce the birth rate. He said rapid population growth is a threat to civilisation as it leads to increasing illiteracy, poverty, malnutrition and political and social instability. The Punjab Governor stressed the need for educating and motivating husbands to adopt family planning methods as they play a predominant role in family decisions. Earlier, in his welcome address, Director, Population Planning, Punjab, regretted that male motivation in Family Planning Programme was negligible as compared to the female population.

At the time of independence Pakistan's population was around 30 million and now, within the span of 46 years, it has touched the 115 million mark. With over 550 children born every hour, our population jumped from 33 million in 1951 to 113 million in January, 1991. That was despite the high infant mortality rate. If we do not check our present population growth rate of 3.1 per cent, our population will swell to 230 million by the year 2014. This rapid growth is putting tremendous pressure on the available national resources. Even if we double our food production, all the development efforts in the fields of education, health, water, power, etc., will be neutralised. According to a leading economist, we will have to increase health facilities alone by 175 per cent in just 11 years from now. With population growth rate left unchecked we will have to double our resources every 23 years. As things stand, we seem to be moving towards an impending catastrophe. It is essential that a general awareness of the problem is created in the country so that the people may voluntarily reduce the rate of births. They have to be told that unimpeding population growth would be more devastating for us than a nuclear holocaust.